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VARANASI—5

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PARSĀ DAYĀRAM HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

[Pl. XI]

The silver punch-marked coins are the earliest known coins of India. Since they bear symbols, the meaning of which could not be interpreted as yet, they are an enigma of the numismatic world. In recent years some attempts have been made to study the symbols and give a scientific basis for classification of these coins that may ultimately lead to the chronology of various groups of symbols and to the intepretation of their symbols. But full material has yet to come to light.

In the furtherance of the study of the punch-marked coins and their symbols, it is necessary that as many coins as could be possible, should be brought to light and observations about them be recorded As such Shri Shivaji Singh deserves our thanks for publishing the Parsā Dayārām hoard of 167 silver punch-marked coins and congratulations for documenting it ably.[1] But at the same time it is regretting to note that the value of his study has been marred by the lack of judicious judgement on his part in selecting the coins for illustration. He has illustrated 30 coins from the hoard, quite a good number to represent the content ; but unfortunately they do not represent most of those coins, which are said to constitute new varieties or to have some symbols, not noticed earlier. He has given no occassion to the readers of the *Journal* to verify and vouchsafe his identifications and observations and thus he has deprived them from having their own views.

However, on the basis of my own experience and the study of the coins of this series from various other sources, I would like to place a few observations about the identification of the varieties of the coins and symbols on them for the consideration of the author and for the readers, who may happen to have any occassion to study this series of coins.

1. The Coins of the Parsā Dayārām hoard have been identified by the author as belonging to 49 varieties, which may be placed into 25 groups, which represent 17 classes. The author has found my system of the classification[2] as scientific

1. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 131-156.
2. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 136-140 ; *Punch.-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, p. 64 ; *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, p. 31-33.

and it fits well with some of his considerations. So he has followed it in the classification of these coins. This system is based on giving a definite place in the symbol-group of five symbols on the coin. Sun and six-armed symbol,[1] figure on almost all the coins of five symbols, barring a few varieties. They are taken as first and second symbols respectively in the symbol group. The remaining three symbols on the coins are placed as third, fourth, and fifth, on the determination of their status as Class, Group or Variety marks. So far, I hardly need anything to add to what he has said.

The successful application of the above classification depends on the correct identification of the symbols. And that is not easy. The coins rarely have the symbols fully or clearly punched. In most cases they are found only partially on the coins. In some cases the symbols are so jumbled up together on the coins that it is not easy to distinguish the symbols separately or any symbol in its proper form. They can only be identified and restored fully with the help of a number of coins of the same variety, in the same hoard as well as in other hoards. And for this purpose, this small hoard of 167 coins, where the varieties are represented, in most cases, by one or two coins, is not enough.

The most difficult is the identification of the forms of the six-armed symbol. The portions of this symbol are rarely found fully punched on the coins of smaller size; what is seen on a coin, is hardly more than two arms. So, an examination of a large number of coins is necessary before one can be sure of the exact form of the symbol on the coins of any variety. Again, in the case of those forms of the symbol, which have fish or beetle as some of the arms, one has to be careful to note if the head or tail faces the base.

Similar difficulties are faced where the symbol is complex in its nature *i. e.* the combination of two or more symbols. Such symbols are never found fully punched; top or bottom portion would always be found missing or in such a fragmentary form that it is not easy to grasp its complete form.

In such cases, the associated marks, with sure identity are helpful in determining the form of the six-armed symbol and also the complex symbols. It is found that in most cases the six-armed symbol has a definite affiliation with other symbols

1. Shivaji Singh has preferred to call this symbol *shadara-chakra* following Durga Prasad. But *chakra* has a definite connotation in Indian symbolism. Unless we know the definite meaning of the symbol on the punch-marked coins, it would be misleading and prejudicial to call it *shadara chakra*.

on the coins i.e. a particular six-armed symbol will be found only on those coins, which bear a particular third, fourth or fifth symbol. So, if a particular symbol is identified, the form of the six-armed symbol may be guessed.

These and many other such minute observations help in the identification of a symbol in a symbol group. But so far no observations in concrete form are available as a maxim to help the correct identification or to know the full form of the symbols. Shivaji Singh has failed to form the correct idea of the symbol in a number of cases, so, his observations about the symbols deserve a careful scrutiny.

Classification

2. Ten coins are identified as having the hare[1] to right on a five-arched hill as class mark (Class IV). They are distinguished into two groups, one having the bull to right and the other frog as the fourth mark. The Group B with frog as the fourth mark, is represented by a single coin (Coin 13). On this coin, Shivaji Singh has identified the six-armed symbol having three ovals with taurine and three arrows placed alternately (symbol 2b), which is also seen on the coins of Group A. Here, it may be brought to notice that each group of this class has a distinct six-armed symbol, as its own mark. No attention to this fact has been given by Shivaji Singh, though he had before him *APGM*[2] where coins of no less than four groups of this class are given with four different six-armed symbols. The coins with the group-mark frog have taurine only in two ovals. The third oval has the dumb-bell **(Pl. XI. 2p).** Thus it is distinguished from symbol 2i by this arm. He failed to realise the distinction; it seems that by seeing one or two ovals on the coin (coin is not illustrated), he has assumed that the symbol has three ovals with a taurine. Other Scholars also have done the same mistake. While most of them have identified the six-armed symbol (symbol 2b), as did Shivaji Singh, Bhattacharya, and Walsh identified it with all the three ovals having dumb bells (symbol 2h), when they saw the oval with dumb-bell portion on their coins. The identification of two forms of the symbol (2b and 2h) by these scholars led me to scrutinise the coins of this group in Bhir Mound hoard and I found some coins having an arm with dumb-bell in oval. Since no coin in that hoard had the complete symbol, I also then thought that the coins of this group have two forms of this symbol. But when, I noticed that the coins of other groups in

1. The animal is generally identified as hare, but the upraised curved tail suggests it to be a dog.
2. *The Punched-marked coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.*

this class have their exclusive six-armed symbol, I realised the mistake and thought that there would be only one symbol on the coins of this group and that would be the combination of the arms having ovals with taurine and dumb-bell both. A fresh examination of the coins of this group, that could be available to me showed that where the two arms having the oval are seen, both the ovals either have taurine or one of them has a taurine and the other a dumb-bell. It was thus apparent that this group has the symbol **(Pl. XI. 2p)** and not 2b. But I have yet to find a coin where the symbol is fully preserved with all the three oval arms. The readers will kindly bring to notice if they have any observations on the coins of this group.

3. Shivaji Singh has noticed on one of the two coins of Class V (Coin 16) an additional or sixth mark on the obverse—four dotted circles in an oblong narrow rectangle (Symbol 53). This extra symbol is not exclusive to this coin. It is known on the coins of several hoards. I have seen it on 2 coins in the Gulbarga hoard, 1 coin in Patraha hoard, 2 coins in Rairh hoards, 22 coins in the Big Bhir Mound hoard and 66 coins in Amaravati hoard. Four coins in the British Museum also have this extra symbol. One of them belongs to Palanpur hoard and the other to Bhimalipatan hoard. The source of the remaining two is not on record. While examining the Amaravati hoard, I noticed this symbol in two forms. One is the same as described above and the other has four balls (or solid discs) instead of the dotted circles. This other form is seen there on 22 coins and on a coin in Rairh hoard.

Shivaji Singh has not illustrated the coin. But on the coins, where I have seen this symbol, I have found that the symbol is always punched near the edge of the coins and an attempt has been made to avoid the over-stamping of the other symbols. Most likely the same would be the case with the present coin.

What was the purpose of this symbol, cannot be precisely suggested. But it can well be surmised that this symbol would have been punched if not at one time, in one period. As such, it provides a dead line for the coins of those varieties, the coins of which have this symbol. These varieties would have been in currency in the period, when this symbol was punched.

A study of the coins bearing this extra symbol shows that none of the coins of the hare-on the hill symbol was ever counterstuck with this mark, while the coins having tree on the hill, bull on the hill and a few other varieties with hill symbols as Class mark have this extra mark. Thus it may be inferred that the coins of the hare-on-the-hill class are later than all the other classes of the hill series.

The importance of this symbol for the purpose of chronology should be realised ; and the coins with the extra symbol should particularly be considered.

4. Coins representing Class I are often found re-struck on older coins. The coin in this hoard (Coin 30) is also double-obversed coin ; but Shivaji Singh has missed to observe the fact. The illustration of the coin, shows faint traces of the older symbol-group on the reverse. One or two symbols of the earlier group may be identified if the reverse is carefully studied.

The double-obverse coins are most interesting. They suggest some political turmoil in the country and may be useful in fixing the chronology. Keeping this in view, the double-obversed coins should be carefully studied.

5. The coins of Classes VII-VIII and IXA have caduceus as the fourth mark. I had identified it in two forms (Symbols 36a and 36b) on the coins of all these classes while studying the coins of the Hyderabad Museum. Describing the coins of Class VII (*APGM*, IV. A. 1) I had written, "the identification of the fourth symbol on these coins, requires a little care. Symbols 84 and 85 (i. e. symbols 36b and 36a) both are known on these coins. The coins illustrated in *BMC* and described by Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya suggest symbol 85 (i. e. 36a of the present study) for these coins; but coin 644 of the Patraha hoard illustrated in the *Memoir* has clearly symbol 84 (i. e. 36b of the present study). Here also coin 25 of Karimnagar hoard has symbol 84 (i.e. 36b). Thus the coins of this variety may be divided into two varieties. ... It further appears that the coins with symbol 85 (36a) are numerous while with symbol 84 (36b) are only few.[1]" Again in the study of the coins of Amaravati hoard, I noticed the two forms of the symbol and wrote, "the fourth symbol on these coins is found in two forms (symbols 238 and 239, i. e., 36a and 36b of the present study). It seems that symbol 238 gradually transformed into 239, as many minor variations of these symbols are noticed on the coins and it is not easy to determine if it should be called symbol 238 (36a) or symbol 239 (36b).[2]

Similarly, describing the coins of Class VIIIA(b), I observed, "symbols 84 and 85 (symbols 36a and 36b of the present study) both are known on the coins of this variety, though coins with symbol 84 are rare. Coins illustrated in *BMC*, have symbol 85 (36a), though in the text they have been described as having symbol 84 (36b). Patraha coins have been described as having

1. *APGM*, p. 92.
2. *Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins*, p. 83.

symbol 85 (36a); but some of them have symbol 84 (36b). Coin 527 of that hoard clearly shows this symbol. Here it may be seen on the coins 13 and 35 of Karimnagar hoard and possibly on coin 154 of Gulbarga hoard also. Thus the coins of this variety may be sub-divided into two groups.[1] Describing the coins of Class VIIIA(a) (*APGM* IV. B. 2) and Class IX (*APGM*, IV, C. 1) I made similar observations[2]; and likewise said in the study of the Amaravati hoard.

Here Shivaji Singh has described 2 coins of Class VII (coins 48-49) and has attributed to them symbol 36b as the fourth mark. Likewise, the same symbol 36b, has also been attributed to the coins of Class IX (coins 39-42). It thus seems that the coins of these classes in the present hoard do not have the symbol 36a. Similarly, he has attributed symbol 36a only to the coins of Class VIIIA(a) (Coins 50-53). It seems that the coins of this variety in the present hoard do not have symbol 36b. As such any observation based alone on the present hoard, about the coins of these classes and any inference drawn on its basis may be wrong and misleading. As such, while studying these varieties, both the forms of caduceus should be noticed and seen if they present some distinct features as sub-varieties or they represent two forms as the result of gradual transformation from the symbol 36a to 36b. Only then some difinite idea about these varieties can be formed with some certainty.

6. Besides recognising the two forms of caduceus (symbols 36a and 36b) as fourth symbol, on the coins of Class VIIIA(b) Shivaji Singh has identified varieties in their fifth and second symbols also.

The fifth symbol on the coins of this variety is known as 'a stag before a twig with a mark at the back.' Generally the form recognised on the coins is the symbol 23a of the present study. But here S. Singh has identified two other forms (symbol 23b and 23c) on the basis of the mark at the back; and he has also distinguished these two marks from the usual mark (symbol 23a) by distinguishing the twig before the stag in two forms. While symbol 23a has the twig with three leaves—two on the side and one at the top, on symbols 23b and 23c he has seen twig with six leaves—three on each side without any at the top. Thus symbol 23a may be separated from 23b and 23c.

While studying the coins of Amaravati hoard, I also identified this symbol in six forms on the basis of the back

1. op. cit., p. 94.
2. op. cit., p. 84, 86.

symbol on the coins of the present variety and in two forms on the coins of class IX. They include the forms seen by Shivaji Singh[1]. But I did not realise that besides the distinction in the mark at the back, there is also some distinction in the form of the twig in the front. As such if the identification of the two forms of the twigs is correct (and there seems no reason to disbelieve Shivaji Singh) then, it becomes neccessary that the coins of these varieties with the symbol 'stag with twig' should be carefully scrutinised and detailed observations should be made about them. With these distinctions in the fifth mark the variety will have to be divided into many varieties or sub-varieties.

7. The coins having the fifth symbol stag with twig as the fifth mark in Class VIIIA(b) and IXA(a) have further been noticed by Shivaji Singh as having two forms of the second symbol i. e. six-armed symbol as follows :

(i) six-arms as (i) arrow ; (ii) hare or dog ; (iii) arrow ; (iv) A fish like object facing out ; (v) arrow ; (vi) taurine. (Symbol 2d). This symbol has been attributed by him to the coins having :

(a) Symbol 36a as the fourth and symbols 36b and 36c as the fifth mark in Class VIIIA(b).

(b) Symbol 36b as the fourth and symbol 36a as the fifth mark in class IXA$(a)_1$.

(ii) Six-arms as (1) arrow ; (ii) hare or dog ; (iii) arrow ; (iv) taurine ; (v) arrow ; (vi) fish facing inside (Symbol 2e). This symbol is attributed to coins having :

(a) Symbol 36a as the fourth and symbols 23a and 23b as the fifth mark on coins of Class VIIIA (b).

(b) Symbol 36b as the fourth and Symbols 23b and 23c as the fifth mark on the coins of Class VIIIB (a).

(c) Symbol 36b as the fourth and Symbol 23a as the fifth mark on the coins of Class IXA (a)2.

The six-armed symbol being partially punched on the coins and the alternate arms between the arrows being different, the scholars had always felt difficulty in identifying the symbol correctly. This symbol on the coins of variety VIIIA (b) and VIIIB (a) which are one and the same, if the form of the fourth symbol caduceus is ignored has been identified by Allan on the coins of the British Museum in three forms :

(i) Having three taurines alternately placed with the arrows ;

1. Symbols, 248a—f ; p. 84-86.

(ii) Having three dumb-bells alternately placed with the arrows ; and

iii) Having hare and the other two arms un-identified.

Allan has thus failed to recognise that the three marks, taurine, dumb-bell and hare (or dog) could be three different arms of the symbol.

Bhattacharya had identified two varieties of the symbol on the coins of the above variety.

(i) Having three taurines alternately placed with the arrows.

(ii) Having hare, taurine and dumb-bell in sequence placed in between the arrows.

While describing the coins of the variety, he remarked, "Marks 2 and 2f (i. e. the two forms mentioned above) are some times difficult to distinguish. As 2f has also got a taurine as one of the six arms, if that part of the symbol which has the taurine flanked on each side by an arrow is found impressed on a coin, it becomes extremely difficult to ascertain whether the symbol is 2 or 2f. And hence varieties (b), (d) and (f) (of his classification) may be the same as (a), (b) and (e) or (b) and (e) may correspond with *BMC* varieties (c) and (d). That both 2 and 2f occur in this group may be verified from the coin 558 (of Patraha hoard) which distinctly show symbol 2". Walsh in his comparative study of the Patraha hoard added to this note that "conversely, it may equally be said that varieties (a) (c) and (e) shown as mark 2f may be varieties (b), (d) and (f) which bear mark 2. And similarly where we have only the dumb-bell flanked on each side by an arrow, the mark may be 2d, which occurs with the same group of marks in *BMC* group IV varieties e, f, g. It cannot therefore be assumed that mark 2f occurs on the coins unless the animal portion of the mark appears.

Thus the scholars earlier were identifying three forms of the six-armed symbol on these coins. But as it would appear from the above, these attributions of the symbols were more conjectural than real. So, while describing the coins of the Hyderabad Museum, I investigated the form of the six-armed symbol, I found that the coin 558 (of the Patraha hoard), on the basis of which Bhattacharya was attributing the symbol with three taurines (his symbol 2), does not belong to the variety under discussion. It has a three-arched hill with crescent as the Class mark. So, it became clear to me that no coin of this variety had more than one taurine. The dumb-

bell and hare (or dog) as other arms had already been noticed by Allan and Bhattacharya on these coins. I also noticed these two components on the coins of the Hyderabad Museum. Being thus assured of the three components (i) hare (or dog) (ii) dumb-bell and (iii) taurine in the six-armed symbol, I looked for the sequence of their arrangement. I found on coin 566 of Patraha hoard four arms of the symbol clearly punched in sequence as (i) hare (ii) arrow (iii) dumb-bell (iv) arrow. This sequence was further supported by coin 27 of Gulbarga hoard. Then Coin 101 of Gulbarga hoard unmistakenly showed taurine as one of the arms. Taurine had already been noticed as the part of the six-armed symbol on the coins of the variety. Thus I restored the symbols as having the six arms in sequence as (i) arrow (ii) hare (or dog) (iii) arrow (iv) dumb-bell (v) arrow (vi) taurine **(Pl. XI. 2q)**. This form of the symbol was further supported by the coins of the Amaravati hoard. It appears that Bhattacharya, while identifying this symbol on the coins of Patraha hoard, wrongly transposed the dumb-bell and the taurine in arranging the sequence.

In view of these facts, it seems most unlikely that the coins of the present variety have any of the two forms of the symbols, as attributed by Shivaji Singh. Quite possible, he mistook the dumb-bell as fish facing outside (symbol 2d). Durga Prasad had also identified the symbol on these coins as having a fish as the component part. Like Shivaji Singh, he had also placed the fish before the hare and after the taurine; but the form of his fish is different and is facing inside. Of two coins of this variety, illustrated by him ($32A_1$ and $32A_3$) one ($32A_3$) has this fragmentary symbol and does not show any arm; the other ($32A_1$) bears a portion of the symbol, showing hare between the arrows. The hare is a little punched; so its hinder part gives the deceptive idea of the fish facing outside (and not inside as shown by Durga Prasad). Similarly, coin 527 of the Patraha hoard has the taurine arm obliterated and gives the illusion of fish. So, there is no coin of this variety with fish as an arm on the coins of this variety. It appears that some such illusion has mislead Shivaji Singh to identify the dumb-bell as fish and to identify it as symbol 2d. The symbol should be re-examined on the coins of the hoard and be corrected in the light of the above observation.

Shivaji Singh has identified the symbol 2d also on a coin of Class IX (Coin 39). Since he has not illustrated it, it is not possible to verify the form of the symbol. But on the coins of this variety, so far examined by me, I have never seen symbol 2d. It is only the symbol 2e, that is found on them. Bhattacharya has also noticed 2e on the coins of this

variety. Shivaji Singh himself has noticed the symbol 2e on another coin of the present hoard (Coin 40). Durga Prasad also has identified the symbols on the coins of this variety with all the arms found in symbol 2f ; but he has transposed taurine with fish and placed the fish facing inside. The coin illustrated by him reveals that in doing so, he has missed the fact that the twig portion of the fifth symbol "stag with twig" is over punched on the hare portion of the symbol, which is before the taurine and thus obliterated it. The two marks jumbled together gave him the deceptive idea of the fish. Allan has failed to identify the symbol in any form. So, unless the coin is carefully examined, the sugguestion of symbol 2e existing on the coins of class IXA cannot and should not be accepted.

9. Now coming to the suggestion that symbol 2e occurs on the coins of varieties VIIIA(b), VIIIB(a) and IXA(a), it has already been said above that variety IXA(a) has rightly been attributed with this symbol; but its existence on the coins of verieties VIIIA(b) and VIIIB(a) is a matter of great doubt. The coins attributed with this symbol, illustrated by Shivaji, do not reveal the nature of the symbol. Coin 67, which has been attributted to VIIIB(a), no doubt shows the six-armed symbol with an arm, which may be mistaken as fish; but a careful scrutiny of the coin suggests that the coin does not belong to the variety assigned to it. Besides sun, the six-armed, and the other three symbols are jumbled up and cannot be determined but are clear enough to show that the coin does not belong to this variety. A taurine placed a little away from the sun symbol, along with the portion of the sun symbol, gives the deception of the stag with twig symbol with a taurine-like mark at the back. The coin requires re-examination and proper attribution. Unless clear evidence is available symbol 2e cannot be assigned and should not be assigned to the coins of Class VIIIA(b) and VIIIB(a).

Apart from what has been said above, on the basis of the observations regarding other varieties of the symbol-groups, it canot be assumed that the coins of one and the same variety would have two forms of the six-armed symbol. It may however, be quite possible that the coins having two different forms of caduceus as the fourth mark may have two different six-armed symbols and in that case each of the caduceus would have its association with only one form of the six-arm. It cannot be postulated in view of the facts known about the other varieties that the coins having one and the same variety or form of symbol will have two different forms of the second symbol. Similarly, it may be possible that the coins having different forms of the stag with twig as the fifth mark, may

have different form of the second symbol; but the same fifth symbol in the same group, will have more than one form of the second symbol cannot be anticipated. So, for this reason also, it is necessary to examine the coins carefully, before admitting the two forms on these coins as suggested by Shivaji Singh.

10. Shivaji Singh has attributed the coins of Class IXA(b) and IXB with symbol 54 (wrongly mentioned in the text as 55 in the case of Class IXAb as the fifth symbol; but he is himself doubtful about his identification and attribution of the symbol. In the case of the coins of Class IXA(b) he says, "this may be a new variety. If however, these dots (symbol 54) are the remains of a goat standing before a tree in railing with a cluster of dot at the back, this coin will represent the same variety as Patraha II.VI.b............" In the case of the coin of variety IXA(B), he says, "the fifth mark on coin No. 43 has symbol 54 as its fifth mark. This is either a new variety or the same as Patraha II.VI.c......." Really speaking, the coins of both the varieties would be having the symbol—goat standing before a tree in railing with a cluster of dots at the back. **(Pl. XI. 23d)**, no coin is known of these varieties with any other fifth mark so far. The coins illustrated by him show that the goat symbol and the six-armed symbol, both are jumbled up with other symbols. Both the symbols have cluster of dots as the component part. So the cluster of dots of the two symbols, mixed together has misled Shivaji Singh to take the two clusters of dots as a symbol. So the symbol 54, should be omitted from the plate and be replaced by the goat symbol, as described above.

11. A coin (coin 14) has been assigned to Class X with only four symbols 1a, 2n, 10 and 52, and is claimed that it was a new variety. But the coin belongs to a well known variety. Shivaji Singh has identified the symbols 1a, 2n and 10 quite correctly, and these symbols should have led him to recognise the group to which the coin belonged and also the correct form of the symbol 52. Any one of the works, that what he has referred for his study, could well have shown that he has identified as a thick S-shape mark in a square is really 'a bull in a rectangle with taurine at the back and in front **(Pl. XI. 44b)**. And then he would have seen that symbol 10 was not the third symbol. Its place was the fourth. He has further missed to identify the fifth symbol. But it may well be identified as elephant (Symbol 24) overstamped by the sun symbol (Symbol 1). The outline incuse of the elephant symbol is clear on the coin. As such all the five symbols are well known and the coin belongs to the variety *APGM*, IV. E. 1 ; Patraha II. VII. a ; *BMC*, 2. IV. o and D. P. $36A_1$.

12. Coin 15 has been assigned to class XI with the symbols 1b, 2j, 11, 33, 29. This is a variety which is rare and is known only in Rothulapalem (Vishakhapattan) hoard (i) coin; Vishakhapattan hoard (1 coin); Bhimalipattan hoard (1 coin); Bahal hoard (4 coins); Gokulvan hoard (1 coin); Mathura hoard (2 coins) and Amaravati hoard (19 coins). A coin is also known from a hoard in Nagpur Museum, which was found in the old Central provinces, but its provenance is not on record. Three coins are described in *BMC* as Var II. XI.b but there symbols are not properly studied. Most of the hoards, containing these coins are unpublished. The published coins belong to Gokulvan and Amaravati hoards. Shivaji Singh has referred to the Gokulvan hoard coin. On that coin I had identified the second symbol as having (i) fish (ii) arrow (iii) taurine (iv) arrow (v) savastika (vi) arrow. Probably Shivaji has accepted the same identification (symbol 2j is the same as mine in the Gokulvan hoard). But in Amaravati hoard I had the occassion to examine 19 coins, the largest known from any hoard. There I find that the arm fish was inaccurately identified by me. The object bears something like prongs; but it is some what different from fish. So, the symbol should be corrected accordingly **(Pl. XI. 2y).**

Similarly, the fifth symbol of this variety (which he has mentioned as fourth) is shown by Shivaji Singh as having a ball at the bottom and a long trunk (symbol 33). The symbol is quite clear on many coins of the Amaravati hoard, and there the trunk is short and the bottom also has a crescent like top. It shapes like a wrench **(Pl. XI. 33a).** The coin illustrated no doubt shows the bottom like a ball; but it is really obliterated crescent. So this symbol should be corrected.

13. Six coins (Coins 32-37) are attributed to Class XII, having symbols 1b, 2i, 30a, 45, 20. This is a very well known variety. The significant thing that Shivaji has pointed out about these coins is that they do not have the same six-armed symbol that has so far been identified on the coins of this variety. The six-armed symbol that is generally seen on the coins of this variety has three arrows and three arms having two loops attached to a handle, alternately placed around the central circle **(Pl. XI. 2s).** Here Shivaji Singh has identified on the coins only one arm having two loops attached to a handle. The other two arms according to him are a knob-like object and fish (according to the illustration) but beetle according to the description given in the text. Shivaji has illustrated not a single coin out of the six, on which he has seen this symbol, while he should have illustrated all the the six for the reason of the peculiarity that he noticed. Without

the illustrations of the coins, it is difficuit to say anything about his observation. I can only say that I have seen 118 coins in the Amaravati hoard, 38 coins in Patraha hoard, 36 coins in the Machuatoli hoard and 69 coins in various other hoards ; and I could not detect this form of the six-armed symbol on any one of them. I am personally very doubtful about the identification of the symbol as 2i.

If the six-armed symbol has correctly been identified by Shivaji Singh then *he has surely missed to distinguish the associate* symbol from the known symbols of this group. This associate symbol may not be entirely different in form than the symbols known on the variety. That symbol will have to be distinguished. If he is sure of his identification of the four symbols, then it is definite that the coin would never have the six-armed symbol as identified by him. The six coins need a fresh examination, before we admit the new six-armed symbol (symbol 2i) *on the coins or the new variety* constituted by this symbol.

14. The fifth symbol of the coins of Class XII (symbol 20) is a well known symbol in the form Shivaji Singh has identified. It is generally taken to be a complete symbol. But in the Amaravati hoard, I found two coins (coins 3854 and 3906) which show that the identified portion is the part of a bigger symbol, which has a five-arched hill at the bottom i. e. the full symbol is a conventionalised tree over a five-arched hill **(Pl. XI. 20a).** The symbol is generally found punched in such a way that the lower portion is always off the flan and we miss the hill portion. This is pointed out here only to say that this symbol should be keenly observed for the hill portion.

15. A coin (coin 38) is placed in Class XIII with symbols 1b, 20, 30b, 45, 55. The fiffth symbol is doubtfully assigned to the coin. It is incomplete on the coin. Perhaps, Shivaji Singh thinks, it is the bird on a tree symbol as seen on *BMC*, p. 42. So far the identity of the symbol group is concerned, Shivaji Singh has rightly identified the coin with the variety (*BMC*) II. V. d. But following Allan, he did not realise that the latter had inacurately identified the third and the fifth symbols on his coins.

The third symbol on the coins of this variety is not six *taurines around* a *solid disc* (symbol 30b) as identified by Allan and Shivaji Singh ; but is in its complete form-four taurines around a solid disc placed over a five arched hill **(Pl. XI. 56).** Bhattacharya has identified the two upper arches of the hill (*his symbol 72*) ; but the hill with five arches is clear on the coin 926 of the Patraha hoard. Durga Prasad has correctly

identified the symbol (14A). So, the symbol should be corrected accordingly.

The fifth symbol was partly identified by Allan and he mistook it for a bird on a tree symbol. In fact the complete symbol is the two branches of Cactus (or some thorny tree) with four thorny leaves in each branch. Bhattacharya has identified the symbol correctly. The symbol should accordingly be corrected. It is seen only on the coins of this variety. The symbol 55 as identified by Shivaji Singh is also attributed to coin 99. But that coin has quite a different symbol (Symbol 25). It would be interesting to note that this coin is the second specimen of its variety known from Uttara Pradesh. The other specimen was in Durga Prasad's collection from Ahraura hoard. He knew a coin of this variety from Nalanda also. Otherwise it is unknown in the hoards of U. P.

16. A coin (coin 45) is attributed to class XIV and has been correctly identified with the symbols 1b, 21, 50a, 18 and 21a. Earlier a coin from Karimnagar hoard (coin 174) was identified by me as belonging to this class. There I had doubtfully identified the symbol 21a and placed it as the fifth symbol. But in Amaravati hoard I found three varieties of this class; they show that symbol 21a is the fourth i.e. group mark and symbol 18 is the fifth i. e. variety mark, as symbol 21a is seen on all the three varities in the Amaravati hoard. So to this extent, the arrangement of the symbol-group should be modified.

17. 91 coins are placed under class XV and they are grouped into seven groups :

GROUP A. Four coins are placed in this group and are identified into two varieties. The coins of this group with four fishes (or beetles) in a pond as the group or fourth mark are rare in this class.

The coins of variety XV Aa are known from various sources; but here Shivaji Singh has identified the fifth symbol into two forms. On one coin (coin 73) he identifies symbol 19 and on the other two (coins 74 & 75) symbol 20. As such he should have identified these coins as two seperate varieties. But he did not do so, for whatsoever reasons. The coins with symbol 20 as the fifth mark are well known; but nowhere coins with symbol 19 as the fifth mark in this Class or Group are known. He has not illustrated the coin, while he should have illustrated this coin and omitted the illustration of coin 75. In absence of the illustration, his identification cannot be verified. But I have grave doubts about the correctness of the

symbol. The symbol may be different than symbol 20; but it can never be symbol 19, which is not the symbol of this period. I have noticed 18 coins in the Amaravati hoard, where the tree symbol is different than symbol 20. I have identified it there as symbol **(Pl. XI. 20b)**. Most likely the same symbol would also be on this coin.

The coins of variety XVAb are extremely rare. I have noticed only two coins so far, one in the Rairh hoard[1] and the other in the Karimnagar hoard.[2] This coin would be the third specimen. Shivaji Singh has correctly identified the fifth symbol as bull; but he has missed to notice the triangle headed standard placed horizontally above the bull **(Pl. XI. 21e)**. The coin is not illustrated, so it cannot be suggested if the standard portion is visible on the coin.

GROUP B. The coins in this group with the caduceus as the fourth mark, are identified into four varieties. Most of the symbols in this group, representing the fifth or the variety mark are complex in nature *i.e.* they are composed of two or more symbols and are rarely seen completely punched on any coin. Same may be the case about the coins in the present hoard. Shivaji Singh has identified the symbols in their partial form at least in two cases (varieties *a* and *b*). Partial identification is also possible in the case of another variety (variety *d*). Symbols on variety *c* might have been correctly identified.

Symbol 28, identified on coins of variety *a* shows only tortoise with three taurines, while the actual symbol constitutes the tortoise with three taurines (i.e. the portion identified) placed under a hare with a pup in its mouth (symbol 26). The complete symbol would be like symbol **(Pl. XI. 28a)**. Due to this complex nature, either the hare with pup is seen on the coin or the tortoise with the taurines. Unless one is alert in his observations, he may fail to notice the traces of the missing counterpart.

Symbol 40a, identified on the coins of variety *b* is only the major portion of the symbol, which is complex in its nature Here the missing portion is a small beetle-like object, which is found placed below the space between two crescents of the identified portion. The complete symbol appears like symbol **(Pl. XI. 40c)**.

Symbol 41a and b are known on the coins of this group alone as well as the component parts of a number of complex

1. *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XXXII, 16.
2. *APGM*, p. 83; Var. IIIA(b) i, coin 27.

fifth symbols of this group. So, it is not possible to say if the variety represented in this hoard has triskelis alone or it is part of some other symbol. The coin is not illustrated; so its exact nature cannot be suggested. However, when triskelis alone appear as symbol, it is always bold and well executed with distinct incuse all round.

GROUP C. The coins placed in this group are identified into four varieties. This group has three branches at the corner of a railing. Here only on the coins of variety *d*, the fifth symbol is properly identified. In the case of variety *b*, a line under the bull with taurine has been missed **(Pl. XI. 21c).**

On the single coin of variety *a*, Shivaji Singh has identified symbol 55. But no such symbol is known in this Group or even Class. It seems that Shivaji Singh has mistaken the lower part of symbol 25, which is the well known fifth symbol on the coins of this Group. The coin is not illustrated, so it is not possible to verify.

The single coin of variety *d* (coin 109) is attributed with the figure of a man (symbol 50b) as the fifth mark. The coin is not illustrated ; the symbol cannot be verified. I had earlier identified a coin with a human figure as the fifth mark on a coin of this Group in a Taxila hoard. It is quite likely that there might be coins with this symbol. But since the publication of that study, I had the occasion of examining quite a large number of coins ; but I did not find any other coin with the human figure. So, I am myself hesitant in accepting my own identification on the coin of the Taxila hoard, which was quite worn. It would be interesting to re-examine that coin as well as the coin in the present hoard to assure the existance of the human figure on the coins of this Group.

GROUP E. Of the two varieties in this Group, the fifth symbol on the coin of variety *b* has been identified in an incomplete form. Shivaji Singh has, himself, realised this fact and has rightly anticipated that the complete from of the symbol would be a human figure placed over a pole in railing, flanked by taurines on either side **(Pl. XI. 31a).**

GROUP G. Three varieties of this Group have been identified in the hoard with leafless tree in four-squared railing as the fourth mark. But all the varieties have been identified with incomplete marks.

On the coins of variety *a*, the fifth symbol is a eight-spoked wheel with each spoke having a flat knob over the wheel **(Pl. XI. 57).** Only a small fragment of the

symbol appears on the coin, with an arc and three of the spokes. Shivaji Singh has mistaken this part of the symbol, as the complete symbol—bow with arrow (symbol 59). This variety is well known as *BMC*, II. VI. e ; D. P. $40E_1$; Patrahā hoard II. IX. a.

Coin 151 of variety *b* is not illustrated and no coin with symbol 40b is known in this variety. The identification cannot be verified. But without assigning any reason, I have every doubt that the symbol has not been properly identified. The coin should be re-examined.

The fifth symbol on variety *c* has been identified incomplete. The bull on the coins of this variety has a flag-staff above the bull **(Pl. XI. 21d)**. But the flag-staff is often missed while identifying the coins of the variety.

18. Among the coins of Class XVII, the fifth mark on the coin of Group A, is partly identified. On the coin, the full form of the symbol would be the same as described above, on the coins of variety XVBb i. e. **(Pl. XI. 28a)**.

Other varieties need no comment.

Obverse Symbols

1. In the light of the above observations on the classification of the symbols on the present hoard, the symbols identified by Shivaji Singh and illustrated on Plate I of the last number of the *Journal*, need modifications as follows :

(a) Omit the following symbols :

2d. It does not appear on the coins of VIIIAb and VIIIBa.

39. It is wrong identification for the new symbol 57.

54. It does not occur on the coins of IXAb.

(b) Replace the following symbols, with symbols mentioned against them and illustrated here on **PL. XI.**

2j with **2r**. An arm is not properly identified.
21b with **21c**. It is incomplete.
28 with **28a**. It is incomplete.
30b with **56**. It is incomplete.
31 with **31a**. It is incomplete.
33 with **33a**. It is not properly identified.
40a with **40c**. It is incomplete.
52. with **44b**. It is not properly identified.
55 with **55a**. It is an incomplete symbol for XIII.

(c) Add following new symbols :

2p as the second symbol of IVB.

2q as the second symbol of VIIIAb and VIIIba.

20b as the fifth mark on coin 73 of XIVAa.

21d as the fifth symbol of XIVAb. The symbol was partly identified as symbol 21a.

21e as the fifth mark for XVGc.

23d as the fifth symbol on IXAb.

(d) The identification of symbol 20 is not wrong ; but in view of some coins in the Amaravati hoard, it seems to be incomplete. The complete symbol, according to them is 20a.

(e) Identification of the following symbols is doubtful. The coins should be re-examined.

2i (It should be **2s**) ; 40b ; 50a.

Reverse Symbols

The study of reverse marks, has not yet been taken in right earnest. As such a study on them from Shivaji Singh would always be welcomed. But I do not think that he would be able to suggest any material change in the observations that has already been made on the subject. He has pointed out to one of my observations, by way of an illustration, where he feels that it needs modification. My observation is that "the reverse marks on the Mauryan coins are of two types, 'original' and 'counter-struck.' The original marks were punched along with the obverse marks, and are of the same size as the markon the obverse. Probably, Shivaji Singh has objection to my saying that obvarse and reverse original marks were of the same size ; he has italicised it in his quotation. There may be some reasons for his objections ; perhaps he has the misunderstanding that I mean to say that the obverse and reverse were punched with the same punch. I never meant so. A number of punches of the same symbol, would have been simultaneously in use at the mint ; and it was not necessary that all the punches should have been precisely of same size. It was the form that mattered. So there may be variations in the thickness and size of the same symbol. These variations, to which, he seems to attach importance, are of no consequence in my opinion. Before, suggesting any theory about any aspect of the punch-marked coins, it would be necesssary to examine carefully and observe a large number of coins from different sources. A small hoard like the present one, would not be enough. However, it may give ideas and problems for investigation.

Chronology

It is not possible to say any thing about the chronology of various varieties of the punch-marked coins, unless an exhaustive study of the punch-marked coins, scattered all over the country is available, and the peculiarities, leading to chronology, are properly analysed. So, it is quite natural for one, who is in constant study of these coins, to modify his views from time to time in the light of his latest findings. If this is kept in view, I do not see any reason for anyone to see confusions in my statements relating to chronology.

Shivaji Singh has referred to some of my statements made in my *Catalogue of the punch-marked coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, as confusing. When the monograph was in the press, I realised that the chronoligical sequence of periods suggested there was wrong. But then there was no way to convey my views, without materially changing the work, which was at that stage impossible. So, I simply pointed out the change broadly, without disturbing the arrangement. Had Shivaji Singh cared to see the foot-note on the same page, which he has quoted, he would have easily made out the sense of what I meant.

When I said that the coins classified under Period IV, are intermediatory between the coins of Periods II and III, I simply meant that the coins that I had identified till then as belonging to a period later than period III were earlier than period III. Once this was realised, it was easy to understand that the term 'late pre-Mauryan' for period II and 'Mauryan' for period III were no more valid. What were till considered to be Mauryan (Period III) are really later Mauryan; and what I was thinking in the begining as post-Mauryan (Pericd IV) are early Mauryan.

My latest studies, enable me to distinguish the punch-marked coins of five symbols into six periods (or Series). First four are pre-Mauryan and the last two Mauryan.

The first two periods are confined to only a few hoards and are pre-Sisunaga. About them little is published so far. The other four periods as as follows:

III	(Period of I of *APGM*)		Early pre-Mauryan-(Sisunagas)
IV	(„	II „)	Late pre-Mauryan-Nandas
V	(„	IV „)	Early Mauryan-Pre-Aśokan
VI	(„	III „)	Late Mauryan-Aśokan and post-Aśokan.

Here the coins may be distinguished as follows :

Class I	Period III	Siśunagas
II-V	IV	Nandas
VI-XIII	V	Pre-Aśokan
XIV-XVII	VI	Aśokan & Post Aśokan.

Inspite of all his misunderstandings, Shivaji Singh has faithfully followed my chronology. Some of the classes and varieties need only a little adjustment here and there.[1]

[1. *Note* It would have been better if Dr. P.L. Gupta had personally examined the hoard before writing the present article—*Chief Editor.*]

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

N. MUKUNDA RAO

[Pl. I-II]

This article is the second in series containing the various new combinations on the punch-marked coins numbering five, together with a critical note on each coin. Herein I propose to present a new series of varieties and combinations of symbols on the coins both identified and unidentified. These varieties and combinations do not tally with those of the published ones.

The following symbols are identified with those of the published varieties and they are as follows :

1. Sixteen rayed sun.
2. Six Armed *Chakra* : Three taurines and three trapezium like cases with pointed corners, arranged around a circle with a conspicuous dot in the centre alternatively.
3. Three ovals with dots in the centre and three trapezium-like cases with pointed corners arranged alternatively around a circle with a conspicuous dot in the centre.
4. Six-Armed *Chakra* : Six arms—1. Taurine, 2. Oval with dot. The remaining four limbs are not identified as they are in worn out condition. This at the best may be identified with No. 13 of the published work.[1]
5. Bull facing right.
6. Tree with leafless branches numbering six.
7. Elephant.
8. *Śrīvatsa.*
9. Three Arched Gate.
10. Flower with stalk together with a petal-like object.
11. Bud-like object. It is new.
12. Three Arched Hill surmounted by a rainbow.
13. Four-pointed star.
14. Frog.
15. A solid rectangular disc with vertical object. To the left of it there is one object—taurine or human being or bull—This may be identified and associated with

1. *AHPMC*, p. 9.

Śaivite *liṅga*. I is temporarily identified and only on deeper examination it may be decided.

16. Hare with taurine in hind portion.
17. Tree with four branches, each branch having two globular leaves.
18. Doubtful.

Reverse Symbols[1] (Pl. I. 24-28)

19. Bold-dumbed bell in front of a flag-staff-like object.
20. Crescent.
21. Triskeli.
22. Inverted capital letter *Ma*.
23. Hand holding sword-like object.

Obverse Varieties[2].

The following are the varieties of obverse symbols some of which do not tally with those of the published varieties and combinations especially with those in P. L. Gupta's *AHPMC*, **(Pl. I. 1-23).**

Special Features :

I. Generally almost all the coins have the first and second symbols which can be seen invariably. But here it is not so, for, instead of the above usual couplet they had only one common symbol viz., Sun but not the *second* symbol which is quite anterior to the above couplet.[3]

The following is the combination :

(Pl. I. 1, 2, 3, 4).

II. This coin also forms a distinct class in that there is the second symbol viz., Six-armed *chakra* but only a part of it i. e., only two limbs were seen. The two limbs are taurine and oval with dot and if we carefully observe it, the symbol No. 13 of the published work may tally with it. There may not be any room for doubt and the remaining four limbs may show as follows :

Arrow, oval with dot, taurine, and arrow.

The usual first symbol was besides tree, hare facing right with having taurine in hind portion which is a quite new symbol. The combination is as :

(Pl. I. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

1. See PL. I. 24-28.
2. See PL. I. 1-23.
3. *AHPMC*, 1963. P. 31 Foot Note.

III. This coin has a peculiar combination of symbols viz., Sun, Flower with stalk together with a petal-like object, three arched gate, bud and six-armed *chakra*. This is another new variety with a new combination of symbols and falls under a distinct class. The combination reads as :

(Pl. I. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14).

IV. This coin is of another peculiar variety with the symbols on the obverse—First symbol, a human-being or taurine or bull in front of a vertical object on a solid rectangular disc, six-armed *chakra*, tree and three arched hill surmounted by a rainbow. The combination thus reads as follows :

(Pl. I. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19).

V. There are *two first symbols* (twice stamped) on the obverse besides the usual combination viz., star and frog. The special feature of this coin lies in the fact that one of the two sun symbols might have been a restrucked one since it appeared like a worn out one whereas the other one looked afresh. By this one would like to conjecture that originally this coin had four symbols and later the fresh symbol might have been restrucked as is evidenced from the fact that after the downfall of Bimbisara, Nandas ascended the throne of Magadha thereby ushering the event ; the latter might have restrucked the new symbol (Sun) on coins as regular recognition for the new rule. But it may not escape from the point that it might be a mint freak which can be decided only after a deeper examination of the coin. This coin had the first symbol twice stamped but missed one of the four symbols.[1] But the peculiarity of this coin lies in the absence of the usual second symbol. Absence of this symbol and the appearance of the first symbol (twice) is a noteworthy point worth mentioning.[2]

The combination is as follows :

(Pl. I. 20, 21, 22, 23).

The chart gives the following details :

No.	Shape	Size in inches	Weight Gr.	Weight Mgr.	General Remark
1.	R[3]	.7 x. 4″	3	350	Thick fabric
2.	R	.6 x.55″	3	425	,,
3.	R	.7 x. 6″	3	100	Medium Fabric
4.	R	.8 x. 5″	3	425	Thin fabric
5.	R	.6 x. 6″	3	324	Tick fabric

(PL. II. 1-5).

1. *ABPMC*, 1963, P. 31, Foot Note.
2. Ibid, P. 111, Point 2.
3. R=Rectangular.

SOME COPPER SEALS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM.

R. R. TRIPATHI

[PL. XII]

The Museum possesses a good collection of seals and sealings acquired from different ancient sites of Uttar Pradesh from time to time. Out of these some copper seals are being described below.

1. Ring-seal with deers (uninscribed).

Reg. No. 100.

Find spot-Kauśāmbī. Size-3 c.m. X I. 5 c.m.; Ht., 2. c.m. **(Pl. XII. 1).**

The seal is in the form of a ring. The portion which bears the device has the resemblance of an eye. The devices engraved on it are two deers standing face to face with upraised heads in the mode of fighting or greeting each other. There are three taurine and two *swastika* symbols engraved around and in between these animals. One taurine is placed behind each animal near the tail while the third at the top, just above their mouths. One of the *swastika* symbols is put in between the deers and the other is visible just below their forelegs.

The presence of the above devices on the seal points out towards its religious character because these motifs often occur in the early Budhist art of India. Cunningham has mentioned several *mriga* jatakas or deer-births of Buddha in his book[1]. This animal has been regarded very holy in this country since long. Every hermitage in ancient India had deers which were called Āśrama Mṛigas. The Ashrama of Agastya Ṛishi is called विनीतमृगसेवितः in Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa[2]. Manu says that the region where कृष्णसारमृग roams about without any fear is called the यज्ञिय land otherwise it is a म्लेच्छ देश, the country of impious people[3]. According to Paithinasi

1. *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 50-51.
2. अयं दीर्घायुषस्तस्य लोके विश्रुतकर्मणः ।
   अगस्त्यस्याश्रमः श्रीमान् विनीत मृग सेवितः ॥
   आ॰ का॰, ११, ८६ ॥
3. कृष्ण सारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।
   स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियोदेशो म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वतः परः ॥ मनु॰ ॥ २, २३ ॥

from Himavarta to Kumari and Sindhu to river Vaitarani कृष्ण मृग roams about, the धर्म becomes fourlegged.[1] It means that the dharma is complete only in that country where the कृष्ण मृग roams about. Again, king Dushyanta, in the Sanskrit drama Abhijñāna Śākuntalam of Kalidas, was forbidden to kill Ashrama Mṛigas being chased by him, by the inhabitants of Kaṇva's Āshrama.

The custom of carrying the skin of a deer by the माणवक still exists at the occasion of Upanayana ceremony of the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. With these remarks it would be proper to propose that the seal has some religious bearing and probably it belonged to a religious institution existing at Kauśāmbī in the 2nd century B.C.

Secondly due to the presence of deers with upraised heads on it, another possibility too could not be ruled out. The deers are found standing on Kuṇinda coins[2] in the same posture before the goddess and the mode of placing different symbols too have been observed in the same manner. Due to the presence of these similarities, may it not be attributed to the Kuṇinda tribe ? It might have travelled to Kauśāmbī some how from the place of its origin.

2. Seal of Kauśika.

Reg. No. L/240.

Find spot-Lāchchhāgīr (Allahabad District), Oval, size-2.3 c.m. X 1.8. c.m.

Upper field—A crescent shaped symbol back to back on either side of a vertical line drawn in between them.

Lower field—Legend *Kośikasya* in the reversed Gupta characters of about 5th century. A.D.

(Pl. XII. 2).

A medial sign for ओ in Gupta script has been denoted by two small strokes, one leaning to left and the other to right at the top of a letter[3]. The medial sign for औ has been

1. अहिमवत आचकुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वैतरणीनदी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः ।
यावदा कृष्ण मृगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवति ॥
Rangaswami Aiyanger, *Rajdharma*, p. 60.

2. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pl. XXII-XXIII.

3. Ojha, *Prāchīna Bhārtīya Lipimālā*, Lipipatra, 17, Bilsad pillar inscription (G.E. 96-415-16 A.D.), लौ and कौ.

indicated by two small strokes on either side of a vertical line in between them[1]. The first letter of the above legend bears former type of signs denoting the sign of ओ. In this way the reading of the legend कोशिकस्य is literally correct but it does not give any sense. Therefore, the legend should be read as कौशिकस्य in order to make it meaningful.

Kauśika has been noticed as the name of a person as well as a gotra or tribe in early Indian literature. Kauśika was the name of a son of Vāsudeva by his wife Vaiśālī.[2] The descendants of the sage Viśwamitra also are called as Kuśikas or Kauśikas. Brāhmaṇa families of Kauśika gotra[3] are still found in India. In this way the legend कौशिकस्य may be taken as the name of a person as well as a gotra. As the legend here is inscribed in singular number it would be better to accept it as a proper name.

The knob at the back is lost.

3. Seal of Śrī Samila or Somila.

Reg. No. A. H/245.
Find spot—Ahichchhatra (Bareilly Distt).
Oval, Size-3 c. m. X 2. 5. c. m.

Legend—*Sri Sāmilasya* in the reversed Gupta characters of about 5th century A. D.

(Pl. XII. 3).

The legend *Śrī Sāmilasya* if read *Śrī Somilasya* will be more appropriate as the name of a particular person. It belonged to a certain individual whose name was Somila. The medial sign of ओ is absent from the top of the letter in Somilasya. There is only one vertical stroke on the letter referred to above. This sign denotes the sign of आ which makes the legend श्रीसामिलस्य. It appears to be more expressive and suitable to read it श्री सोमिलस्य than श्री सामिलस्य. Such names sometimes occur in Sanskrit literature. *Pañcha Tantra* describes the story of a Kaulika named Somilaka[4].

Originally the seal had a knob which does not exist now.

4. Seal of Sagala.

Reg. No. L/241
Find spot—Lāchhāgīr (Allahabad district).
Oval, size-3.3 c. m. X 2.7 c. m.

1. Ibid.
2. H.H. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa.* pp. 350-51.
3. Ibid, p. 324.
4. *Panchatantra*, II, No. 5.

Upper field–Bull seated to right before trident battle-axe in reversed state.

There is a crescent above the head of the bull.

Lower field-legend *Sagalasya* in reversed characters of about 5th century A.D. **(Pl. XII. 4).**

The legend सगलस्य is a Prakritised form of साकलस्य or शाकलस्य or शाकल्यस्य. In ancient India Śākala was the name of a city which was the capital of Madra people residing in Punjab. The Madras were well known to Panini[1], the renowned sanskrit grammarian. This city has now been identified by the scholars with modern Sialkot[2] situated between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. *Mahābhārata* also mentions Sākala as the name of a city in one of its verses[3]. Pāṇini has mentioned शाकल as a Charaṇa of the *Ṛig veda.* This Charaṇa was established by Āchārya शाकल्य who prepared Pada Pāth of the *Rigveda.* Those who studied शाकल संहिता of the शाकल्य Āchārya were called शाकल or शाकलक[4]. These Charaṇas were organised on the pattern of the republics present in the time of Pāṇini and as such they have been called by him as सङ्घ. As a सङ्घ they had their seals with their own devices and legends.[5]

Therefore, it would not be wrong to accept the present seal belonging to the शाकल Charaṇa of the *Ṛig Veda,* because the examples of several other Charaṇa sealings from Rajghat have been published earlier by V. S. Pathak and V.S. Agarwal.[6]

5. Seal of the Vatsa or Vātsya.

Reg. No. A.H/318.
Find Spot-Ahichchhatra.
Round, Diam. 2. 4 c.m.
Ht. of the knob 1 c.m.

Legend *Vachhasya* in the reversed Brahmi of about 2nd century A.D. **(Pl. XII. 5).**

The legend *Vachhasya* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Vatsasya or Vātsasya. The Vatsas were a people in ancient India with their capital at Kauśāmbī in 6th century B.C. which is well known to the students of ancient Indian

1. Paṇini's *Ashṭadhyāyī*, 4-2-131.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the geography of Ancient and Medieval India,* p. 94, note 25 ; also *CHI*, I, p. 191.
3. साकलं नाम नगरमापगानाम निम्नगा । जार्तिका नाम वाह्रीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ॥ *Mahābhārata*, Karna Parva, 44.10.
4. V.S. Agrawala, *Pāṇini Kālina Bhārata*, p. 297, and 314.
5. Ibid, p. 297.
6. *JNSI*, XX, p. 195-201 ; and XXIII, p. 409.

history. Vātsya is known as a teacher of *Rigveda* and *Śukla Yajurveda*[1]. He was one of the five pupils of Achārya शाकल्य who established the शाकलचरण of *Rigveda*. As such the legend either denotes the वत्स gotra like कौशिक or Vātsya the name of the teacher of *Rigveda* and *Śukla Yajurveda* and the pupil of Acharya शाकल्य. Therefore, the correctness of either of the readings of the legend could not be ruled out completely.

6. Seal of Vāma Vishṇu

Reg. No. A.H/330.
Find spot-Ahichhatra.
Rectangular, Size-1.6 c.m. X 1.1 c.m.
Legend—*Vāma Vishṇu* in reversed Gupta characters of about 5th century A.D. **(Pl. XII. 6)**.

It may be proposed that the seal belonged to the temple of Hari-Hara. The word वाम विष्णु interpreted in the following manner brings us to the same conclusion वामे विष्णुः यस्यासौ वाम विष्णुः. In the images of Harihara Vishṇu always forms the left half part[2] in the same way as in the images of Ardhnāriśwara Parvati forms the left half part. Vāma has been enumerated as the name of one of the Ekadash Rudras[3] in the *Bhāgawata*. Therefore, the legend may be broken into two parts as Vāma and Vishṇu which is an example for द्विगुसमास when combined together. *Matsya Purāṇa* also describes the iconography of the Harihara image in the same manner. It says that with their respective emblems शूलपाणि should be made on the right half while माधव on the left half[4]. Allahabad Museum also possesses an image of Hari-Hara[5] belonging to Gupta period preserving the same iconographic features as

1. H.H. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 224, and p. 227, footnote 5.
2. B.C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, I, p. 22-23, pl. XIV; T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, Part I, p. 332-334, plates XCIX and C.
3. H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 101, foot note 17; Bhāgwata list of Ekadasha Rudras-(1) Ajaikpāda, (2) Ahirvadhana, (3) Ugra, (4) Bhima, (5) Vāma, (6) Mahān, (7) Bahurūp (8) Vṛishakapi (9) Aja (10) Bhawa, and (11) Raivata.
4. वामार्द्धे माधवं कुर्याद्दक्षिणे शूल पाणिनम् ।
   शंखचक्रधरंशान्तमारक्तांगुछि विभ्रमम् ॥
   दक्षिणार्द्धे जटाभारमर्द्धेन्दुकृत लक्षणम् ।
   भुजंगहारवलयं वरदं दक्षिणं करम् ॥
   द्वितीयं चापि कुर्वीत त्रिशूल वर धारिणम् ॥
   Matsya Purāṇa.
5. Sculpture Reg. No. 292.

described in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and referred to above. Thus Vāma Vishṇu is another name for Harihara and Haryarddha Murti images. Therefore, it may be opined that the seal under discussion might have belonged to the temple or image of Harihara or Vām Vishṇu as the legend says.

The knob at the back of the seal exists no more.

7. Seal of Āryadatta.

Reg. No. K/237.

Find spot—Kauśāmbī.

Oval, size—2.6 c. m. × 2.3 c. m.

Upper field—Śrī Vatsa symbol.

Lower field—Legend *Āryadatta* in the reversed Brahmi characters of about 2nd or 3rd century A. D.

(Pl. XII. 7).

The legend of the seal is self explanatory. There is no doubt that the seal belonged to an individual whose name was Āryadatta.

The knob at the back is lost.

8. Satya Seal.

Reg. No. M·1387

Find spot—Mathura.

Square, size—1.8 c.m. × 1.8 c.m.

Above—Legend *Satasya* in the reversed Brahmi characters of about 2nd century A. D.

Below—Umbrella stick shaped symbol within a railing horizontally laid below the legend.

(Pl. XII. 8).

Sealings bearing the legend धृति and शुचि have been found at Rajghat[1] earlier. Again Jhūsi yielded the clay sealings bearing धम (धर्म)[2] and a clay seal bearing the legend दमस्य[3] from the same site. The legends धृति, शुचि (which is nothing else than शौच) and दमस्य appear to be among the ten characteristics of धर्म as enumerated by Manu.[4] The सत्य is also one of these ten लक्षणs of धर्म as stated by him. In this way the legend सतस्य (सत्यस्य) in the seal shows a certain religious motive behind

1. Allahabad Museum Reg. Nos. R/160 and R/176 respectively.
2. Allahabad Museum Reg. No. Jh/243 and 244.
3. Allahabad Museum Reg. No. Jh/333.
4. धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्म लक्षणम् ॥ मनु०, ६, ९२ ।

it. Satya is also said to be one of the forms of Vishṇu.[1] In *Patañjala Yoga Darshan* सत्य has been included among the Yamas.[2] *Bhāgwata* also keeps सत्य in its list of यम and नियम[3] while enumerated by Krishna to Uddhava. Again Kṛishṇa explains the meaning of every Yama and Niyama one by one and defines सत्य as to see every one equal[4] (सत्यं च समदर्शनम्).

A clay sealing having the legend सत्य स्वामी[5] has been acquired for the Museum from Jhusi. I think this sealing belonged to some institution or temple which was related to Vishṇu whose one of the forms is सत्य as pointed out earlier. Still most of the Hindus respect and listen with great devotion the सत्यनारायणव्रतकथा, a portion of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. In this way I find no difficulty to state that the legend सतस्य, an incorrect form of सत्यस्य, has a complete religious bearing.

The umbrella stick shaped symbol within a railing occurring below the legend is also found on Yaudheya coins.[6]

9. Vāgdharma seal.

Reg. No. JH/439

Find spot—Jhusi (Allahabad district).

Oval, size—2.7 cm. x 2.4 c. m.

Legend—*Vāgagdhamasya* in the reversed Brahmi characters of about 3rd or 4th century A. D. There is a *triśula* with a *paraśu* after the letter ग्ध and before म of the legend. **(Pl. XII. 9).**

The seal when correctly read becomes वाग्धर्मस्य. It has been inscribed in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. The legend appears to be a motto just like धर्मकर्तव्य[7] and सत्यंजयतिनान्रतम्[8]

1. H. Wilson : *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. III, Ch. I, p. 214.
2. अहिंसा सत्यास्तेय ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः ॥३०॥ *Sādhana Pāda 2.*
3. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयमसङ्गो ह्रीरसञ्चयः ।
   आस्तिक्यं ब्रह्मचर्यं च मौनंस्थैर्यं क्षमाभयम् ॥३३॥
   Bhāgvata, Ekadash Skandha, Chapt. 19.
4. दण्डन्यासः परं दानं कामत्यागस्तपः स्मृतम् ।
   स्वभाव विजयः शौर्यं सत्यं च समदर्शनम् ॥३७॥
   Bhāgvata, Ibid.
5. Alld. Museum. Reg. No. Jh. 398.
6. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 267, class 2, variety e.
7. *JNSI*, XIX, part I, p. 71. A clay seal bearing the same legend from the same site has been acquired for the Museum. Reg. No. Su/269.
8. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 181.

which were published in this *Journal* earlier by Jagannath Agarwal and P. L. Gupta respectively. For the interpretation of the legend when we go through ancient Sanskrit literature we find words वाग्धर्म and वाङ्मयतप similar to each other. Manu says[1] that it is our सनातनधर्म to speak the truth which is not harsh to others and not to tell a lie which is dear to others. In these words Manu suggests that the वाग्धर्म which had been coming from our hoary past should be followed by every one of us. Again *Bhagwadgitā* elaborates वाङ्मय तप[2] in a similar language which denotes the same meaning. Therefore, it appears to me that the वाङ्मयतप of Gīta and *Sanātana Dharma* described by Manu are the synonyms of वाग्धर्म of our seal under description.

10. Seal of Śreshṭhiputrā Gopa.

Reg. No. K/469

Find spot—Kauśāmbī.

Oval, size—2.3 cm. × 1.7 cm.

Legend—*Sreshṭhi putro gopa* in the Gupta characters of about 5th century A. D.

(Pl. XII. 10).

As it is well known from coins, seals and sealings that the Nigmas were the organisations formed by traders in ancient India. The Śreshṭhīs (Sethas of today) were the members of the Nigmas. This seal belonged to a person named Gopa, who was the son of a Śreshṭhī as it is evident from the legend.

1. सत्यं ब्रूयात्प्रियं ब्रूयान्नब्रूयात्सत्यमप्रियम् ।
प्रियं च नानृतं ब्रूयादेष धर्मः सनातनः ॥ *Manuśmriti*, IV. 138.

2. अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।
स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥ *Bhagwadgitā*, XVII. 15.

A THIRD SILVER PORTRAIT COIN OF VĀŚISHṬHĪ PUTRA SĀTAKARṆI.

S. RAMAYYA

[Pl. II.]

Sātavāhana silver coins are few and till now only four categories of them have been published. I list them below—

1. **Gautamīputra Sātakaraṇi** : These are overstruck coins on those of the Kshaharata King, Nahapana, by his conqueror Gautamiputra. A huge hoard of these coins were discovered at Jogalthembi. No portrait coin of Gautamiputra Satakarni has been found till now.

2. **Vāśishṭhīputra Pulumāvi** : A portrait coin of this King has been published in the *JNSI*, XIV, (1) Pages 1-3.

3. **Vāsishṭhīputra Satakarni** : Two portrait coins of this King has been published ; the first one by Dr. Altekar in *JNSI*, XI (1) (Pages 59-63) and the second by Mr. Dinkar Rao in *JNSI*, XXI (1) (Pages 9-12). My coin is the third of this category. (Dr K. Gopalachari in his book *Early History of the Andhra Country* appears to have referred briefly to a coin of this type with a plate).

4. **Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi** : 6 portrait coins have been published ; 3 by Rapson (*BM Catalogue*) ; one by Bhandarkar (*ASIR* 1913-1914) ; one by Prof. S. L. Katare (*JNSI*, XII, Page 126) and one by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji from Sopara of which there is a woodcut figure on Page 25 of Eliot's *Coins of South India* ; the 7th one which is attributed to this King has no portrait ; it is described by Dr. Altekar in VIII (11) of *JNSI*, (Pages 111-113).

My coin was purchased in Hyderabad in 1959 and belongs to the third category detailed above. I shall first describe it.

Metal :	Silver.
Size :	.65 inches.
Weight :	28 grains.

Obverse : Bust of the King facing right ; the frizzled and curly hair seems to be bound by a fillet or diadem with a crest jewel above the centre of the forehead ; earrings with long pendants reaching shoulder.

A clear circular Brahmi legend starting at VIII and reading *Siri Sātakanisa Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa* ; the *Sa* ending at IV being a little off the flan,

Reverse : An Ujjain symbol with a crescent at the top ; to right six-arched hill, with crescent at the top ; between the two crescents a small circular figure with rays probably standing for the sun ; below a wavy line.

The inscriptions on the reverse on the two coins of this category previously published are difficult to read since they are either eroded or partly off the flan. The reading has given rise to considerable doubt. The inscription on my coin is very clear and anybody can read it with the naked eye. I shall give what I consider as the correct reading.

Beginning at XII till II there are five letters reading *Sa ta ha ni sha.* Then come five letters which read *Va hi t ti pu.* Starting at V there are three letters *Ka ni sha.* Thereafter there are two letters *Thi Ru.* Lastly came 5 *Aksharas* from IX and reading *Ha ta ka ni sa.* In all there are 20 letters and the whole legend reads *Satahanisha, Vahittipu, Kanisha, Thiru, Hatakanisa.* I am afraid there is no *Ara* as deduced by Altekar in this inscription (*JNSI, XI*, (1), page 59). The reading of Dinkar Rao *Arihanasha Vāladandadha* and his explanation of this title appears far-fetched and fanciful (*JNSI,* Plates XXI, (1), 10-11). **(Pl. II 6).**

I shall offer a few comments on this Brahmi legend and the title *Thiru.*

As stated by Altekar some of the characters in the Brahmi script on the reverse are different from the normal Brahmi used on the obverse.

The third letter from XII *Ha* has its loop on the left '*J*'. The loop of *Sha* (or was it pronounced as *Sa* ?) is turned to the right '*t*'. Such forms are described in Plate X of Ojhas Palaeography of India as pertaining to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.—coins of the Andhras. Beyond these changes the script does not call for any comments.

The language used in this inscription is a little intriguing. On the obverse it is the usual Prakrit. The Prakrit of the reverse is somewhat peculiar. *Hatakanisa* or *Hatakanisha* is easily understood. *Va hi t ti* apparently was used in some parts from the word *Va si thi.* Was it from the Paiśāchī of the old Andhra Districts

However the most remarkable word used is *Thiru.* Incidentally Altekar suspects a *Thiru* in the Vāsishtīputra Pulumavi's coin (vide his footnote 2 in *JNSI,* XIV, Page 2). Dinkar Rao has read it correctly and has made some comments on its use in his article. He is justified to some extent in

saying that it is an old Tamil word. How was this used in this coin ? The Satavahanas do not appear to have penetrated beyond the Pennar line near Nellore where probably the early Pallavas were their feudatories. In the 2nd and 3rd century A. D. the early Cholas appear to have held Kanchi and up to Nellore.

I had a discussion with my friend, Dr. Chidambaranathan, an eminent Tamil scholar who is now editing a big Tamil Lexicon on the model of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in the Madras University. He gave me very valuable information on the subject for which I am very grateful to him.

Tamil as is well known is an ancient language. Its fine literature starts from about 1st or 2nd century B. C. and has a continuous history of over 2000 years. This language does not undergo drastic changes as the Prakrits of the north and is more akin to Sanskrit and its growth. To have literary output from 2nd century B. C. the language must have been prepared from an earlier date. It starts with an early discipline of Grammar. Like Panini for Sanskrit, Agastya is credited to have given Tamil its first grammar. Except in small quotations in later literature his grammar has been lost. His date was probably very early, about 500 B. C. One of his disciples, Tholkappiyar gave the next grammar by name *Tholkappiyam* to the Tamil language and it is the earliest book in this language now available. Its date is supposed to be not later than 4th century B. C. since after this grammar from at least 2nd century B. C. Tamil literature proliferates in the famous Sangam poetry. In one of the chapters of this grammar, in describing the ten agreements, between parties for marriage, Tholkappiyar has used the word *Thiru* as one of the points. This is its most ancient literary use and it means 'wealth'. Later the word undergoes the usual changes in meaning extending its connotation and by 1st century A. D. in the famous *Thirukural* of Thiruvalluvar it is found in a number of verses, in allied senses, its general meaning being 'Exalted' or 'High' almost equivalent to *Shri* of Sanskrit. It is therefore clear that *Thiru* is an old proto-Dravidian word, well known in all Dravidian areas, though later its usage in Tamil became very common. It was known in Andhra and northern parts of the Tamil country and the word *Thiru* in place of *Shri* was used for the peoples of these lands by the Satavahana Emperors.

It is now clear that from the time Gautamiputra Satakarni defeated Nahapana, probably about the end of 1st century A. D. to Yajña Srī, about the end of 2nd century A. D. or beginning of 3rd century A. D. there was an expansion of the Satavahana Empire from Malwa in the North to Pennar, near

Nellore in the South and to the seas in the East and West. Consequently these Kings came in contact with the Kshaharatas and Kshatrapas of Western India and had friendly and or inimical realtions with them. They naturally liked the silver coins of the former and introduced it in their dominions changing slightly the script and language to suit the different regions.

Who this Vāśishthīputra Sātakarṇi is, has been ably discussed by Dr. Altekar when he dealt with the first coin of this King (*JNSI*, XI, 1). His conclusions were that he was the son-in-law of Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, mentioned in Kanheri records and probably an uterine brother of Vāsishthīputra Pulumavi. As suggested by Dinkar Rao this King's figure looks almost like that of Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, though somewhat younger, with the same determined face and the acquiline nose. He can therefore be taken as the younger brother of Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi till we get proof to the contrary. Altekar has also convincingly identified him with the Śiva Śrī of the Puranic list.

With the third coin of this King now available we can dispel a lot of doubts raised by the discussions previously on this category of Satavahana silver.

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALTAR TYPE COINS OF SKANDAGUPTA[1]

BRAJA DULAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

The bulk of Skandagupta's silver coins is constituted by what is known as 'altar' type coins.[2] Allan discribes this type in his *Catalogue* of Gupta coins[3] in the following manner :

"*Obv.* Bust r; traces of Greek legend.

Rev. Burning altar[4] in centre; Inscr. (often defective) : *Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Vikramāditya-Skandaguptaḥ*"

unquestionably the most interesting feature of this type of coins is its reverse device 'fire-altar'. Although 'altar' as a numismatic device appears cn Gupta coins from the time of Samudragupta onwards, still its representation as independent and central symbol on Indian species can be traced back to the period of Skandagupta at the earliest.[5] The attempt of some scholars[6] to show that 'fire-altar' on Skandagupta's silver coins was derived from the 'King-sacrificing-at-altar' type of early Gupta gold coins does not seem convincing. Save the fact that both are 'altars' there is absolutely nothing to indicate the adaptation of this device from the gold coins where 'alter' forms only an insignificant part of the whole obverse type we have thus with all propriety to consider it as an independent and novel device on the numismatic issues of the Guptas.

Now it is a matter of enquiry whether this device was original to Gupta mints, or was something exotic in nature.

1. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee for all the help and suggestions I received from him in the preparation of this article.

2. A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 255.
3. Allan, *BMC, GD*, p. 122. There are other varieties of this type of coins where the legends differ ; Allan, ibid, p. 124 and p. 129.
4. It is not very reasonable to take this device as *Tulasī-Vṛndāvana* i. e. receptable for a *tulasī* plant an alternative description suggested by some scholars ; "three prong-like things upon the alter have a greater resemblance to the three flames of fire than to the branches of the tulasi plant. The apex and base of the lower object are too broad and its vertical portion too narrow to justify its description as a *Vrindāvana* ;" Altekar, ibid, p. 254. These features, would, on the other hand, favour its description as a 'fire-altar'.
5. For a somewhat different view, cf. Altekar, ibid, pp. 238-39 where he adduces some not very convincing arguments in favour of attributing copper coins with *Ku* legend and 'Altar' on reverse to Kumaragupta I though he does appear at all certain about this attribution. This attribution, even if it is true, does not very much affect our suggestion.
6. Altekar, ibid, p. 254.

We have to examine both the alternatives and see which one emerges as more rational.

The type and fabric of these coins on which 'altar' appears suggest that they were struck for circulation in the west Indian regions at least a part of which had been incorporated within the Gupta Empire in the period of Chandragupta II.[1] The recorded findspots of these coins corroborate this attribution. Allan refers to a find[2] of these coins in Western India and Bhagawanlal Indraji's collection preserved in the British Museum[3] also indicates western provenance. So far as Gupta silver coins issued for circulation in these regions are concerned they are totally based on the western Kshatrapa coins save with the introduction of *Garuḍadhvaja*—a symbol of regular occurence on other early Gupta numismatic issues. It is rather unlikely then that Gupta mints should introduce on the western varieties of silver coins in the period of Skandagupta a unique device which was unfamiliar not only to the coins of his predecessors but to all other varieties of Gupta coins as well. This would, on the other hand, suggest that Gupta mints derived this device from some prototype the source of which lay quite close to the western possessions of the Guptas.

In fact, the only line of rulers who had regularly been issuing coins with 'fire-altar' device in the contemporary period was that of the Sassanids of Iran. Some Imperial Parthian rulers, it is true, used the 'King-sacrificing-at-altar' type on some varieties of their coins[4] and that type through different stages came to occupy the obverse of some early Gupta gold coins. But 'fire-altar' as an independent symbol is employed only by the Sassanids who supplanted the Imperial Parthians in Iran and it continues, along with varying accessories, as the central reverse device on Sassanid coins from the time of Ardashir I onwards.[5] If the nature and extent of Sassanid political influence in India in the third and fourth centuries A. D. are critically studied an attempt to establish some connection between the 'altar' on Skandagupta's coins and that used by the Sassanids would not appear entirely unconvincing.[6]

1. R. C. Majumdar, (Editor) *The Classical Age*, p. 19.
2. J. Allan, ibid, p. cxxxi.
3. J. Allan, ibid, p. 123 and 126.
4. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII, p. 109f.
5. F. D. J. Paruck : *Sāsānian Coins* p. 21.
6. Here we are citing only those evidences which indicate the inclusion of the lower Indus country (a territory quite contiguous to the western possessions of the Guptas) within the empire of the Sassanids and show the continuity of their political control in that region. It is necessary to mention here that the myth created by Herzfeld (*Paikuli*, pp. 35-51) regarding the extension of Sassanid political control over Kachha, Kathiawar and Malwa has been exploded by W. B. Henning in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1952, pp. 500-522.

The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shapur I or the socalled *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* reveals the wide extent of Sassanid possessions in India. The inscription records the inclusion of the Kushāṇa country (Kwshnhstr or Kouseneon ethnos) which embraced along with others, *Hndstn* or India (including the Lower Indus Country) within the Empire of the Sassanidids by the third quarter of the third century A. D.[1] The continuity of Sassanid political control in this region is suggested by the Persepolis inscription of the period of Shāhpur II.[2] The inclusion of the Indus region within the Empire of the Sassanids and the circulation of Sassanid coins there may further be substantiated by referring to a statement of F. D. J. Paruck :[3] "coins of Sasanian type and fabric bearing inscription in Nagari, Sasanian Pahlavi and an alphabet hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of Greek alphabet, used by the Scytho-Sasanians are found in the North-West of India. These coins have been attributed by cunningham to Later Huns but apparently without significant reason. Rapson is, however, of opinion that they were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties ruling over Sind and Multan which latter (*sic*) the earliest Arab Geographers include in the Kingdom of Sind as shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlavi".[4]

The data furnished by these records are extremely significant since they show that after the conquest of western India by Chahdragupta II the Gupta Empire almost bordered on the Sassanid dominions in the Lower Indus country. It was thus not impossible that the coins struck in the Sassanid dominions travelled out of the intended area of circulation and reached through the Lower Iudus country to the western dominions of the Guptas. This may serve as a rational explanation of how 'fire-altar', a device peculiar to the Sassanids came to be represented on the coins of an Indian ruler in the fifth century A. D.[5]

1. *Indian Studies Past & Present*, V, No. 3, p. 272.
2. R. C. Majmudar, (Editor), *The Classical Age*, p. 55 ; E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 38), pp. 35-36.
3. Paruck, ibid, p. 271 ; cf. also *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 267-289 and E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 30.
4. This probably refers to the later Sassanid issues which served as the prototype of early mediaeval Indian coins in this region. We may thus cite the parallel instance of Sassanian coins serving as the prototype of the so-called *Gādhia* pieces current in a later period. For the find of this type Indo-Sassanian coins also in western India, cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VII, pp. 19-22 ; ibid, pp. 98-100.
5. The reverse of Skandagupta's 'altar-type' coins is, however, not an exact copy of the reverse of Sassanid coins ; here the altar is not represented associated with other symbols found on Sassanid coins. But the Gupta mints probably found it neither desirable nor possible.

II

The above discussion was directed to indicate the possibility of the adoption by Skandagupta of the 'fire-alter' type from the Sassanid coins which circulated within the Sassanid Empire but crossed the borders over to the Western possession of the Guptas. Can there be found some other clue which may suggest more direct contact between the Empire of the Guptas and that of the Sassanidas in his time ?

The Junagadh Rock inscription of Skandagupta of the year 136[1] records his victory over the *Mlechchhas*. The victory was so decisive that it was acknowledged in the dominion of his rivals. The manner in which the victory has been recorded may indicate that the offensive was taken by Skandagupta. Skandagupta's victory over another power, the Hūṇas, has been referred to in the Bhitari inscription ;[2] in the opinion of some scholars, the *Mlechchhas* of Junāgadh inscription are identical with Hūṇas of Bhitari record. But is this identification unavoidable ? First, in the official Bhitari record the Hūṇas are mentioned by their name. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that they should be mentioned by the vague term *Mlechchha* in another official document of the same period.

Secondly, the reference to Skandagupta's anxieties over his western possessions and the care with which he selected the governor of this province[3] would indicate the presence of a hostile power in the neighbourhood. These precautionary measures adopted by the Gupta Emperor with regard to their western possessions may conveniently be interpreted in terms of the evidences relating to the occupation of the Lower Indus Country by the Sassanids.

Thirdly, the chronology of Hūṇa expansion, if studied closely, may show the impossibility of Hūṇa penetration into

to adopt the device in the way it was represented on Sassanid coins. They had to accommodate the long circular Sanskrit legend on the reverse ; secondly 'fire-altar' with varying accessory symbols was a mark of purely foreign religious faith, it might have been found desirable to adopt it with necessary modifications. A strikingly parallel instance of such modification is offered by Gupta silver coinage itself. There can be no doubt about the fact that the silver currency of Chandragupta II is based entirely on western Kshatrapa coinage ; but Chandragupta II did not make a faithful copy of western Kshatrapa coins ; he replaced 'chaitya' the central device by Garuḍa' and introduced some other minor changes.

1. L. 4. "...*Prathayaṁti yasāṁsi yasya ripavo = pi amulabhagna-darpa nica ....Mlechchha-deśeshu*", J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 56-65.
2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 52-56.
3. Junagad Rock inscription of Skandagupta, ibid, pp. 56-65.

India in 455 A. D. which is the date of the Junāgadh record (of year 136) upto 455 they had been actively engaged in fight with Sassanid ruler Yezdegerd II and it was not till sometime later that the Hūṇas finally gained upper hand against the Sassanids.[1] The only other alternative identification of the Mlechchhas seems then to be with the Sassanids in view of what has been said above. In the light of this discussion the following hypothesis may be postulated.

The territories of the Sassanids in the Lower Indus country bordered on the western provinces of the Guptas. But Hūṇa menace in first half of the fifth century A.D. made it impossible for the Sassanids to wield any effective political control over these regions and left Skandagupta free to take the offensive against the Sassanids, though results of this expedition must have been short-lived in view of the subsequent Hūṇa penetration into India. So far as Gupta coinage was concerned, this resulted in the adoption of the central reverse device of the Sassanids on some varieties of Skandagupta's silver coins. Western Kshatrapa silver coins had already been accepted as the standard proto-type in the western provinces of the Gupta Empire the impact of Sassanid coins on Gupta coinage could not have been so considerable as would have been otherwise.

1. *Numismatic Chronicale*, 1893, pp. 173-174 ; It is interesting to note that in the *Classical Age* p. 35 (edited by R. C. Majumdar) the date of Skandagupta's encounter with the Hūṇas has been put around 463. A. D.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE JHANSI HOARD OF RAJPUT COINS

M. C. JOSHI

[Pls. II-V]

This hoard of coins[1] was discovered on the 10th October, 1964, at Dariyapura, a suburb of the Jhansi city, located to its north at a distance of about two miles. The actual find spot, which does not seem to be a habitational site, is situated on the northern side of Lakshmi tank within an irregular cluster of stones, on a low hillock, to the south-west of the modern Anjani-Mahavira temple, in the same locality. The hoard was spotted first by two minor girls of Dariyapura named Sila and Ganga, daughters of one Narayan Dhimar, while they were collecting soil for the repairs of their house. And subsequently their father deposited it in the local police station on the same day along with the damaged copper jar **(Pl. II. 8)**, wherein it was found buried.

The coins in the hoard, numbering 318 and circular in shape, are all of impure silver which is mixed with copper in varying degree, *i. e.* from 40% to 10%. Of these five belong to king Madanavarman of the Chandella dynasty and the rest to one Mahīpāladeva. The general features of both these groups of coins are similar ; the obverse bears the name of the issuer and the reverse a crude and stylized figure of a female deity. There are, however, minor variations in the size, legends and execution in the coins of Mahīpāladeva. The issues of Madanavarman are thinner and slightly bigger than most of the coins of Mahīpāla. The general details[2] of each group are as under :

Group I

Obv. Two and sometimes three-lined inscription in bold Nāgarī characters covering the whole face of the coin and reading—
Śriman (Ist) *Ma hīpāla* (II line) *deva* (IIIrd line)

1. The hoard in question was examined by me on behalf of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra, during November, 1964, at Jhansi Kotwali with the permission of the Collector, Jhansi, who was also kind enough to give me all the necessary facilities. I am highly thankful to the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, Superintendent, Archeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra, for so kindly permitting me to publish this paper.
2. As the hoard was examined within a very short period of few hours, the individual details of the coins and their weight could not be recorded.

Rev. Nimbate *devi* (Lakshmī) seated cross-legged wearing *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, shown by a dotted line below the belly, and *kaṅkaṇas*, with her hands stretched out at her sides and a semi-circle of dots over the halo. Above each arm occurs a curved line with a dot in the middle and traces of border of dots are visible in the upper part of most coins.

(Pls. III-IV).

Group II

Obv Two lined inscription in bold Nāgarī characters, as in Group I, reading *Śrima Ma* (Ist line) *danavarmma* (IInd line).

Rev. As in Group I, but without the dotted border. General delineation of the divine figure has relatively a flattish character, suggesting further degeneration of the numismatic art.

(Pl. V. 1-5).

Of these coins those bearing the name of Madanavarman can be attributed with certainty to the Chandella king of the same name, who ruled between A. D. 1129 to 1163.[1] However, it is difficult to determine the identity of king Mahīpāla.

Cunningham,[2] who was perhaps the first to study such coin types of Mahīpāladeva, regarded him to be a Tomara prince of Delhi, and also ascribed to him another variety of medieval coins bearing the legend Śrī Mahīpāladeva with a stylized horseman on the reverse and humped bull on the obverse. This view was also accepted by Smith.[3] Yet a comparative study of the two above mentioned numismatic types, other similar coins and their issuers reveals that Mahīpāladeva of the Lakshmī type cannot be identical with Mahīpāla of the horseman bull coins. The absence of the latter variety amongst as many as 313 issues of Mahīpāladeva in the present hoard lends further support to our assumption. Moreover, these two types seem to belong to two different parts of India viz., North-western (Panjab, Eastern Rajasthan, and Western U. P.) region and Central India (Vindhyan area).

The coins of Mahīpāla in this hoard are essentially of central Indian character introduced first by Gāṅgeyadeva Kalachurī and followed by those rulers who exercised their sway over some parts of central India in the Early medieval times. Such coins generally belong to the kings of the Kalachurī,

1. Bose, N. S., *History of the Chandellas*. (Calcutta, 1965), p. 85.
2. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Mediaeval India*, (London, 1894), p. 84-85.
3. Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I (Oxford, 1906) pp. 256-259.

Chandella and Gahaḍavāla lineage.[1] Therefore, the coins bearing the legend Ajayapāladeva, Kumārapāladeva and Mahīpāladeva with a goddess on the reverse[2] do not appear to be Tomara issues, for we have no reason to believe as yet that the Tomaras of Delhi ever conquered the Vindhyan or the central Indian region.[3]

The bull and horseman type, which first appeared in the issues of the rulers of Ohind, found popularity with the kings of north western India.[4] The Tomara coins, if at all they were issued, should be identified with the well-known north-western type having a horseman on the obverse and a bull on the reverse such as those of Sallakshaṇapāla, Anaṅgapāla and Mahīpāla.[5]

It can, therefore, be suggested that Mahīpāla of our hoard was a local central Indian chief who might have ruled some-

1. The Gahaḍavāla coinage consists of only two patterns i. e. horseman-bull and Lakshmī types, respectively, belonging to Madanapāla (A. D. 1104-1113) and Govindachandra (A. D. 1114-55). Of these two varieties, perhaps each signified either the authority of Gahaḍavāla monarchs on a particular region or the conquest of a specific area. Madanapāla, who probably wanted to get general recognition as the overlord of Kānyakubja and Indrasthānīyaka (Delhi) country after the conquest of these regions by his father, Chandradeva (A. D. 1089-1100), adopted the horseman type in his coins, for this was a popular currency of N. W. India in this period. Govindachandra favoured the famous Kalachuri coin pattern (Lakshmi-reverse) on account of his success over the Kalachuris as a result of which he also assumed the royal Kalachuri *birudas* like अश्वपति-नरपति-गजपति-राज्यत्रयाधिपति.
2. Cunningham, Ibid.
3. We, however, know of certain later Tomara kings who ruled Gwalior area between A. D. 1398 to 1506, but neither they were in possession of Delhi nor did they belong to the family of Delhi Tomaras, famous in the bardic tradition of India.
4. Some coins of Chāhaḍadeva (A. D. 1237-55) in bull and horseman type are reported from Narwar (M. P.), but these are regarded only as exceptions. In central India Chāhaḍadeva seems to have introduced this type on the pattern of imperial Chāhamāna currency after the fall of Pṛithvirāja with a view to uphold the idea of Hindu supremacy during the Muslim rule. It is also not unlikely that the Narwar kings were the migrated descendents of the defeated Hindu chiefs of N. W. India. Cunningham identifies Chāhaḍadeva with a ruler of Ranathambhor (cf. Cunningham, *op. cit* p. 91-92) of the same name. But other rulers of Narwar during the 13th 14th century A. D. issued a type, which combined the numismatic traditions of North-west and central India, with a horseman on the obverse and legend (three-lined) on the reverse.
5. This Mahīpāla with coins of bull and horseman type, may be identified with the Tomara chief of the same name and the supposed founder of the village of Mahīpālpur near Delhi (Dr. Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 60). And perhaps he was a powerful ruler, for he is said to have recovered his lost possessions in Punjab in A. D. 1044 from Ma-udud, son of Mas-ud. (Cf. *The Cambridge History of India*, III, (Cambridge, 1928), p. 509.

where in the northern Bundelakhand and established his power perhaps as an ally of the Gahaḍavāla Govindachandra during the feeble reigns of Chandella rulers, Jayavarman and Pṛithvīvarman. The presence of five coins of Madanavarman in the hoard indicates that it was buried in the earlier part of his reign, probably after his recovery of the territory, formerly held by his predecessors from Mahīpāla or his immediate successors.

One is tempted to identify this Mahīpāla with Chandella king Pṛithvīvarman (A. D. 1120-29), the father of Madanavarman, for ***Mahī*** and ***Pṛithvī*** are synonyms. But this appears to be almost improbable as we are familiar with a class of Chandella coins bearing the name of Prithvīvarman distinctly.

We, however, also know of a ruler named Mahīpāla belonging to the Kachchhapaghāṭa family, whose two records dated V. S. 1150 (A. D. 1093) and V. S. 1161 (A. D. 1104) from Gwalior are quite famous. The latter inscription (A. D. 1104) by most scholars is considered to be of an important nature, for it is supposed to contain a reference to the demise of Mahīpāla. First published in 1863 by Rajendralal Mitra,[1] it was critically re-examined afterwards by Hultzsch,[2] who in his revised reading felt, besides other things, that "stanzas 7 to 9 seem to refer to the death of Mahīpāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor, this name, however, is not extant." H. C. Ray,[3] the reputed historian, has also followed this reading and on its basis he writes that Mahīpāla (Kachchhapaghāṭa) was dead some time before A. D. 1104. But this observation is not beyond doubt for stanzas 7 to 9 read as under :

वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लि प–[~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~–।

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~] कुमुदवनविकासकृद्राजा ॥७॥

पादानिह क्षितिभ्रतांदधतः शिरः सु दोषापसारणपटोसदिनाश्रियश्च ।

धामाधिकस्य तरणेरिव दुःसहत्व यस्यावहद्दिशिदिशिप्रसरत्प्रतापः ॥८॥

उदार समरारम्भो दूरेस्तु कुरुते रिपून् ।

यस्य प्रयाणवार्तादि पलायदपरायणान् ॥९॥

In the lines quoted above, the only reference to the death of Mahīpāla can be drawn from वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लिष्टेः, which, however, does not mean the same necessarily for the following reason. No successor and much less a son would tolerate the use of such an expression mentioning Yama and his death-rod

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXI, pp. 418ff.
2. *The Indian Antiquary*, XV, (1886), pp. 201 ff.
3. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 828.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

to denote the passing away of a revered royal predecessor and father, who is highly praised in the previous verses. Such sad occurrences, that too in Indian cultural set up, are always remembered eulogistically. And in the case of the Kachchhapaghāt *vaṁśa* one has not to go too far. In Mahīpāla's Sasbahu inscription (dated A. D. 1093) itself, there is a reference to the death of Padmapāla wherein the unfortunate event is described in a sophisticated and poetic manner.[1] It would not be improper, therefore, to suggest in this context that वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लीष्टे in this record has been perhaps used to denote the prowess of the arms of Mahipaladeva, the ruling monarch, over his enemy, and one can well compare it with the expression कृतान्तपरशुर्ज्जयत्यजित-राजजेताऽजितः occurring in connexion with Samudragupta's valour. Similarly, the wordings like कुमुदवनविकासकृद्राजा and other ślokas, *viz.* 8 and 9 perhaps enumerate only Mahīpāla's attainments and qualities. There does not seem to be any probability of his successor's name being there. It can, thus, be hypothesized that the duration of Mahīpaladeva's reign was much longer than A. D. 1130, as stated by Ray[2] or 1104, although in the present state of our knowledge we aie not in a position to decide its later limit with absolute certainty. In the light of the data furnished by the inscriptions, he appears to have been a ruler of considerable political significance and it is not unlikely that he also issued a coinage to assert his claim as an independent suzerain especially during the later part of his reign.

Hence, we are inclined to identify the king Mahīpāladeva of our hoard with the Kachchhapaghata prince of the same name referred to above, whose period of rule considering the availablity of his coins with those of Madanavaraman Chandella, seems to have lasted till about A. D. 1123-24, if not as late as A. D. 1128-29, the time when the latter ascended the throne. And the hoard, as already stated, was perhaps buried some time in the early years of Mandanavarma's reign during the period of political chaos caused by the Chandella (Madanavarmman's) victory and defeat of the Kachchhapaghātas.

1. देवार्द्धसिद्धे द्विजपुङ्गवेषु प्रतिष्ठितेष्वष्टसु पद्मपालः ।
युवैव दैवप्रतिकूलभावात्संक्रन्दना[क्कास] न भाग्वभूव ।।V. 30.
Indian Antiquary, op. cit,, p. 37.

2. Ray H. C., op. eit, Genealogical tables, p. 835

ON AN UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF VIKRAMĀDITYA—I OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY OF BADAMI

S. RAMAYYA

[PL. VI]

Excluding the later Chalukyas of Gujarat, three Chalukyan dynasties were dominant in the Deccan and the South in various periods. The earliest were the Western Chalukyas of Badami or Vatapi who ruled the Deccan for two centuries from about 550 A. D. to 750 A. D. The famous Emperors of the dynasty were Pulakesin-II (610 A. D. to 642 A. D.), the contemporary and rival of Emperor Harshavardhana of Uttarāpatha, Vikramāditya-I (655 A. D. to 680 A. D.), the conqueror of Kanchi and the South, to whom the coins under consideration are attributed, and Vikramāditya-II (733 A. D. to 746 A. D.), who also captured Kanchi in the South, and drove back an Arab invasion in the North. The Eastern Chalukya line of Vengi was established by Vishama-Siddhi Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana, brother of Pulakesin-II about 624 A. D. to look after the Eastern coastal areas. This line continued to rule for a period of more than 500 years, sometimes independent, sometimes feudatory. Later, in the 11th and 12th centuries, it merged with the imperial Cholas of Tanjore by intermarriages and alliances. The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the contemporaries of the great Cholas and probably descended from the older Badami rulers, after a period of 200 years of obscurity during the Rashṭrakūta supremacy, rose into prominence and held lordship over the Deccan for another 200 years from 975 A. D.

Though the history of these dynasties can be traced fairly well from their inscriptions and copper plate grants supplemented by some literary evidence, numismatic evidence is rather poor. Chalukyan coins of gold, silver or copper are very rare and only a few have been published. An authoritative commentary on such work is seen on pages 75 and 76 of the *JNSI*, XXIII, (Golden Jubilee Volume). Some details are also to be found in Part I of the *Bibiliography of Indian Coins*. Eliot, in his classic *Coins of Southern India* has some interesting remarks to offer on the coins of these dynasties, especially the Badami line on pages 54-55, 66-67, 70-71 and has illustrated a few. Apart from the base silver coins of Vishama-Siddhi, the founder of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty of Vengi, a number of gold coins of the temple type of Jagadeka Malla, lion type of Trailokya Malla, of the Kalyani line have been

identified. Silver coins with inscriptions Raya Gaja Kesari are also attributed to the Kalyani rulers. But till now there appears to be no authoritative find of the issues of Badami Chalukyas except the few coins illustrated by Eliot.

In the years 1957-60. I was Accountant General, Andhra Pradesh, and from 1960-63 Financial Adviser of the Nagarjunasagar Project, also at Hyderabad. I was, in these years, pursuing my old hobby of collecting coins in Hyderabad also. In 1959, four coins fairly dark, except one, which was a little bright came into my possession. They looked somewhat odd; but I could not identify them easily; nor my learned friends in the numismatic field could do so whenever I showed them the coins; of course they could spare time for only a few minutes. I did not attach much importance to them. Recently when I was going through my coin cabinet I had them cleaned a bit and examined them carefully. To my surprise I found them to be the coins of Vikramāditya-I of Badami of the 7th contury A. D.; one a gold coin and the others silver[1] mixed with gold. I shall now proceed to describe the gold coin in detail.

The gold coin of Vikramāditya-I, the Chalukyan Emperor of Badami

I have only one coin of this type **(Pl.VI, 14)**. After cleaning it a little bit it revealed itself to be a good gold coin. The first test revealed that the gold content may be between 75 and 80%. shall have it tested further. It is round in shape. The weight is 117.0 grains. (7.500 grammes). Its size across is .76 inches. The base plate is of medium thickness. On both sides a number of devices and inscriptions and letters have been fixed by a die. There are also a number of small inscriptions on both sides fixed probably by another die. **(Pl- VI. 14A&14B).**

Taking the obverse side symbols first, in the centre across the coin there is a big boar facing right, fairly protuberant and somewhat of a crude figure. The straight tail on the left is thick and the face is indicated by a small knob, at the end split into two to show the snout. Four straight lines indicate the legs. In front of the boar on the edge of the coin (between II and III) there is a figure somewhat indistinct, probably a lamp. Above the boar. on the fringe of the coin (at XI) there is a device with a dot and two lines ♉, all well raised. This probably is the sun symbol; and to the right (at XII) there is a crescent like symbol ☊ with two dots at the end, probably representing the moon, clearly embossed. Between the sun and the moon. in the depression, a faint floral design is visible. In

1. A note on these electrum pieces by Shri S. Rammaya has already been published in *JNSI*, XXVI, Pt. II. pp. 244ff.

all on the obverse there are 4 symbols, three clear and bold and the other somewhat indistinct.

I shall now take up the inscriptions on the obverse. Below the tail of the boar, left of the hind leg, a small indistinct *Sri* can be traced. Right below the boar at the end of the coin (at VI) there is a big *Vi*. To its left (at V) one can trace a *Kra* somewhat worn out. Next (above IV) a big unmistakable *Ma* can be read. Consequently we can read this clearly and distinctly as *Sri Vikrama*. This is the first inscription. Above the back of the boar in the depressed portion of the coin there was apparently another inscription in small letters stretching across the coin. The embossed portion is worn off but lines can be traced on the coin base. One letter looking like *kra* above the shoulder of the boar is however clear. On the obverse side therefore there are two inscriptions; one big *Sri Vikrama* easily readable; and another above the boar; the last one being difficult to read except one letter.

On the reverse of the coin in the centre extending from top to bottom is a bold standing figure. The head is now only a small hollow. Some small piece representing the head has apparently fallen off. The figure must have been facing left. His left arm is hanging loose with a slight curve and the right arm flexed, is on the right hip. There is a beautiful winding figure of a serpent with a raised hood in front (at III). Right at the end of the coin there appears to be a small boar with its face to the left and tail to the right. its legs touching the legs of the standing figure in an inverted position. There are in all three symbols, two distinct and one, the small boar, a little indistinct.

The inscriptions on this side also are remarkable. On the left edge of the coin there is a big *Ma*; below it a *Vi*; above a *Kra*. Portions of the lines of the round in the *Ma* the lines of *Kra* and the arms of *Vi* are eroded though the letters can be traced on the coin easily. The first inscription therefore reads as *Vikrama, Sri* is not easily traceable. Above the head of the serpent (beginning from II) at the fringe of the coin one can read a *Sri Vikrama* in small beautiful letters. This is the second inscription in clear letters. There is a third faint inscription in slightly bigger letters along the edge of the coin in a sort of floral design and running left to right from (I to XI) which can be read as *Vikrama* with some effort, with some of the letters not being clear. In addition fine small letters are seen in the interspaces of the big letter *Ma* which I shall try to read after cleaning the coin further. In all there are three clear inscriptions big and small on this side of the coin and probably another inscription in very small letters.

Let me now examine these facts and identify the coin. Since the boar is so prominent it is obvious it pertains to the Western Chalukyas who have the well known Varaha Lanchana or the boar symbol as their crest. The inscriptions on both sides clearly refer to one of the Vikramādityas of the Chalukyan Dynasty. At the outset we may easily rule out Vikramāditya VI the Kalyani line. His date is 1076 A. D. to 1126 A. D. This line of Chalukyas used more often the pre Nandi Nagari script of the 11th and 12th centuries. For example the *Ma* used in the Kalla Sambi plates (Vide A. P. Govt. Archaeological Series No. 6) of Vikramāditya VI is almost the modern म while in our coin it is the old 𑀫. Moreover the few gold coins of the dynasty known are entirely a different type, the weight being about 60 grains with punch marks around. They use the later Kannada Script in the coins. We have therefore to go back to the earlier Vikramādityas of Badami. Vikramaditya-II ruled between 733 A. D. to 746 A. D. for a short period only and his reign was spent in wars. He seems to have few grants or none at all to his credit. He can also be ruled out. (I have none of his inscriptions before me).

Vikramaditya-I had a longer reign and ruled between 655 to 680 A. D. He was a great conqueror; and avenged the defeat and the death of his father Pulakesi-II and the sack of Badami by Narasimha Varma Pallava by a counter invasion and capture of Kanchi. After this feat he moved with his army down South as far as Trichnopoly on the Cauvery. Comparing the script on his Gadwal and Iparumkal Plates (Vide A. P. Govt Archaeological Series No. 6) with that on the coin there seems to be no doubt that he issued this coin. The letter *Ma* agrees remarkably well. The other letters *Sri, Vi, Kra* and *Ra* agree also very well. The script used therefore is the 7th century one whatever name we give to it; post Satavahana Brahmi or Telugu-Kannada as it is generally called. I therefore come to the conclusion that this gold coin was issued by Vikramaditya-I of Badami, on even a cursory examination, both from the boar symbol and on unassailable palaeographical grounds.

Let me now take up the other symbols on the coin and see where they lead us. Above the boar, on the obverse the sun and the moon symbols are there and they are the usual ones for the Chalukyas (as well as other dynasties). They are also found on the seals of the copper plate grants of this dynasty. As regards the figure infront of the boar it is a bit indistinct and looks like a lamp. Such a device is also found in the seals of their copper plate grants. In the silver coins the lamp is more clear.

The standing figure is difficult to identify. The head seems to have fallen away; or it was not there at all. The silver coins have no head. Below (at VI) at the end of the coin there is the small and fairly defined figure of the boar. Then there is the snake with the hood. From all these indications there are only two possibilities. One is that the figure represents the King, its crudeness being traceable to the Indo-Sassanian influences of that period and later (vide Chola coins) when crude representations of Kingly figures started. The other alternative is that it is God Karttikeya, the patron deity of this dynasty as stated in the copper plate grants of these rulers. There are faint traces of a peacock and its feathers between the legs of the standing figure. I feel therefore it represents God Kārttikeya. These also confirm that this coin belongs to the Badami Chalukyas.

I shall now briefly discuss the metal, metrology and typology of the coin. It is a gold coin and the purity of gold can be taken safely between 75% and 80%. I shall have it tested later more accurately. The only other metal as seen from the colour is copper of about 20 to 25%. So much copper shows a lesser purity. In these centuries, especielly the 7th century, northern Indian gold coins of later Guptas and Śasāṅka show equally low purity compared to those of the Imperial Guptas, or Kushānas. This can be explained by the unfavourable economic conditions prevailing both in the North and the South in the 6th and 7th centuries. North had barely recovered from the horrors of the Huṇa invasions. In the South also the overseas trade dwindled in the 6th and 7th centuries, earlier due to the fall of the Roman Empire, and in the 7th century due to Arab expansion and conquests in the Middle East and Africa. Gold inflow into India should have dried up.

As regards the metrology of the coin there is one problem which is very perplexing. Southern gold standards starting from very early days follow different weights as compared with the North. We have no gold issues of the Satavahanas. But from the 5th century A. D. the Kadambas oI Banawasi and Gangas of South West Kuntala started a gold currency. A few gold coins illustrated by Eliot with boar symbols are also attributed to early Badami Chalukyas. Then after a long gap Kalyani Chalukyas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi issued gold coins, with the contemporary Cholas. Later Vijyanagar issues came. But these coins follow entirely different standards. As is well known there are two such weight standards in the South; one of 53 to 60 grains sometimes even going to 70 grains, based on the weight of the *Kalanju* seed. The early Kadamba and Chalukyan varieties, the Padma Tanka types of

the later Chalukyas. the Madai of the Cholas and the Vijyanagar Varahas followed this standard more or less. The second standard was the famous small 'fanams' of 5 or 6 grains ; the weight of the *Manjadi* seed with 10 fanams making up bigger coins.

In this context where does this coin, with a present weight of 117 grains and originally probably of 120 grains (3 grains having been probably lost in wear and tear) come in ? This is the puzzle to be solved. It obviously follows the Kushano-early Gupta standard of 120 grains ultimately traceable to the Roman dinara origin. They persist in the north right into the 7th century if not a little later. Some of the later Gupta coins go up to 150 grains or 80 Rattis of the Suvarṇa Standard of Manu. Can we account for the intrusion of a 120 grain coin of a Northern type in the South in this period where previously and later only coins of 50 to 60 grains variety were the normal standard ? At present I can offer only two explanations. The early Chalukyas appear to be a Northern clan who probably migrated south in the 5th century and rose to imperial position in the 6th and 7th centuries. They apparently brought Northern traditions even in coinage, copying the later Gupta coinage and introducing it in the south at least for some time. Secondly Pulakesin-I, Kīrtivarman and Mangalesa were the early conquerors of this dynasty. They overthrew the Kadambas, Western Gangas and other minor dynasties in the Deccan and looted their treasuries. Later Kings tried to penetrate the far South towards Pallava Kanchi. Pulakesin-II's attempt though partially successful ended disastrously in 642 A.D., when his capital was sacked and burnt by the Pallavas and he himself perished in the disaster. Within 10 years however, his son Vikramāditya-I recovered magnificently and led a successful expedition to the south up to the Cauvery when he probably brought back all the lost treasures and much more from the far South. To celebrate his grand success he must have decided to issue the Northern type of gold coins, and silver also dedicated to Mahāsena or Kārthikeya, his patron deity who gave him victory. This type apparently did not persist long, being new to the southerners ; and the rulers later must have reverted to the 50/67 grains variety.

Although this gold coin compared to the Kushano-Gupta coin may look a little crude in workmanship it shows some remarkable features. For one thing it is a double die struck coin on a thick plate. Some of the symbols like the snake show great refinement and a delicacy of touch and line though the boar and the God could have been better. The inscriptions especially the smaller ones are remarkable both for their

numbers, variety and delicacy and fine die work. The later Chalukya coins even in the 11th century were half punch-marked and compared to this coin were somwhat old fashioned; nor were the Cholas better. We have to wait for Vijyanagar and the Pandyas of the 13th century for a good die struck variety.

It will now be obvious that this is a unique coin and an extraordinary lucky discovery. It is probably one of its kind to come to light till now. Its solitary grandeur will also be appreciated when we realise that from the 6th to the 11th century we come across very few coins in the south and no gold coins at all. We have yet to find one real coin of any metal of the Rashṭrakūtas, the redoubtable warrior kings of the Deccan of the 9th and 10th centuries.

I have given all the relevant facts of this coin, at present before me. Any further facts coming out after a little more cleaning it requires, I shall give later. I have also placed before the scholarly world my own conclusions on the present data, It is now for other scholars to read and interpret the data better if possible.

ĀLUPA COINS

M. M. PRABHU

[PL. VI]

Certain gold coins, bearing on the obverse, two fishes under a canopy, flanked on either side by various devices such as a conch, a fly-whisk, a lamp-stand and a water-pot ; and on the reverse a three line legend either in Nagari or in Kannada reading *Śri Pāḍṇya Dha nanja ya* have been assigned to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura by many Numismatists all these years. It is now proposed to discuss these coins in detail in order to assign them satisfactorily. These coins have been noticed by the following :

1. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 152 f., Pl. III. 129.
2. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. V. 10.
3. C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, Pl. VII. 3.
4. M. H. Krishna, *AMAD*, 1937, mentions one of these coins among those belonging to the Department.
5. P. N. Mohandas, *Indian Coins through the Ages*, illustrates one coin and says "The name of the king who issued this coin is known to us only from the legend. One side of this coin has a three line Sanskṛit legend which reads *Śri Pā ṇḍa (ṇḍya) Dha nan ja ya*. The other side shows some symbols made up of lines and dots which have been identified as forming the figure of a fish."
6. R. Vanaja in an article on the collection of Madras Museum in *JNSI*, XXIII, 1961, mentions these coins and adds that they were found "probably in South Kanara."

T. Desikachari, in an article in the *Tamilian Antiquary* mentions that gold coins bearing the fish emblem have been discovered in South Kanara District.

S. T. Satyamurti, Director of Museums, Madras, in reply to my enquiry informs me that the Administrative report of the Museum for 1910-11 shows that 15 Pandyan gold coins were acquired as Treasure Trove find from South Kanara District. Out of these four have been retained in the Museum and the rest distributed to other Museums. These coins are of base gold and have the legend referred to above in Nagari. He adds that these are the only four gold Pandyan coins in the Museum.

The British Museum has ten Pandyan gold coins. Of these, five are Varahas and the other five Fanams (paṇas). Of the five Varahas, four bear a three-line Nagari legend and the fifth bears a legend in Kanarese. The obverse device consists of two fish under canopy, flanked by various devices. The weights range from 3.59 gms. to 3.83 gms. Of the four bearing Nagari legends, three read *Sri Pā/ ṇḍya Dha Na(n)/ Ja Ya.* The Anusvāra of Dhananjaya is sometimes brought to the beginning of the third line (as on B. M. Coin No. 4) or is sometimes off the flan. No. 1 of British Museum is the same as No. 4 of the coins now illustrated **(Pl. VI. 4).** This is also called the Bangar Pagoda. No. 1, 3 and 4 all have the three line legend in Nagari. No. 5 has the same legend in Kannada. No. 2 of BM will be discussed later.

The fanams of BM have either one fish or two fishes on the obverse and parts of legend (?) on the reverse. One coin bearing a single fish on the obverse has an extremely interesting reverse showing a human figure in front of a pedestal or pillar. The weights vary from 0.35 gms to 0.42 gms.

The coins illustrated in the plate will be now described.

1.	**Obv.**	Two fishes under canopy left, conch. right, flywhisk. W. 53 grains.	**Rev.**	Three line legend in Nagari reading *Śri Pāndya Dhananjaya.* **(Pl. VI. 1).**
2.	**Obv.**	As above, but water pot at left, flywhisk at right Wt. 51 grains.	**Rev.**	Three line Kannada legend as above. **(Pl. VI. 2).**
3.	**Obv.**	As above. Wt. 50.5 grains. Coin is of base gold.	**Rev.**	as above. **(Pl. VI. 3).**
4.	**Obv.**	Stylised fish under canopy. Conch, goad (?) (identical with No. 1 of BM). Wt. 50 grains.	**Rev.**	Three line Nagari Legend as above. **(Pl. VI. 4).**
5.	**Obv.**	As on No. 4 Wt. 51 grains. Coin is of base gold.	**Rev.**	As on No. 4 **(Pl. VI. 5).**
6.	**Obv.**	Two fishes under canopy. Waterpot at left, flywhisk right. Wt. 50 grains	**Rev.**	Blurred Nagari Legend. **(Pl. VI. 6).**

7. **Obv.** Two fishes. **Rev.** Nagari letter *Vī*
Wt. 5.5 grains **(Pl. VI. 7).**

8. **Obv.** Two fishes. **Rev.** Nagari letter *Sā*
Wt. 5.5 grains (*So* ?) **(Pl. VI. 8).**

Smaller coins weighing 1.5 to 2 grains are also illustrated **(Pl. VI. 9-10** enlarged 2 diameters).

No 2 of the British Museum is in some respects similar to No. 6 above in that it appears to have a blurred legend. The first line of the legend could be read as *Śri Pan*; the first character of second line is *Dya*; the second and third characters of this line appear to be badly cut. They could, however, be errors for *Dha* and *Na*—the first with the vertical stroke on the left hand side missing and the second where the horizontal stroke instead of meeting the vertical stroke has been joined to the top. The last line is only partly visible.

The fanams occur in many varieties—with one fish (No. 10) or with two fishes on the obverse; and a conch or a Nagari or a Kannada letter on the reverse.

M. Sheshadri, Director of Archaeology in Mysore, after inspecting the coins, has confirmed my reading of the legend on coin Nos. 1 to 5, and adds that nothing can be made of the legend on No. 6. He also agrees with my view that these are coins of the Ālupas.

Though all the previous writers who have noticed it agree in assigning this coin to the Pandyas of Madura, none has been able to identify the king whose name appears on the coin. We know of no king bearing the name or title of Pandya Dhananjaya among the Pandyan kings of Madura. We have no reference to any such king either in inscriptions or in literature concerning them.

K. A. Nilakantha Sastri in his *Pandyan Kingdom* says that coins definitely attributable to the early Pandyas are very rare. "A few gold specimens are known and these bear only the Pandyan figure of the fish (El. *CSI.* p. 121). It is very interesting that the name Kuna known only to tradition and not to epigraphy is borne on a copper coin figured by Sir Walter Elliot (No. 140). By far the largest number of coins belong to the mediaeval Pandyas and bear legends *substantiated by inscriptions*. These coins often show the influence of the Chola conquest by the presence of a tiger design.........". Rapson in *Indian Coins*, p. 36, says "Gold coins bearing the emblem universally adopted by the Pandyas in later times, *viz.*, the fish, have been attributed to a period

from 7th to 10th centuries A. D. Later copper coins show the influence of Chola conquest in the middle of the 11th century."

Burnell, in *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* has this to say of emblems: "The earliest symbol found on grants by Indian Kings is the sacred Royal Emblem (dhvaja), a mark of authenticity, and which by its sacred character, would preserve the document from destruction. This mark is generally a representation of the animal, a figure which adorned the standard of the donor; thus the use of "Totems" was undoubtedly common in very early times in India. The ones used by the earliest South Indian Dynasties appear to be such as primitive tribes would select in such situations as these kingdoms occupied, viz., the inland mountain districts-elephant, the plains-tiger, and the sea coast-fish; but it is useless to speculate on matters like these......" He also says that the practice of using seals seems also of comparatively recent date.

We know that different dynasties had similar emblems. The tiger was used as an emblem by the Pallavas, Cholas and the Hoysalas. The lion by Chalukyas, Kadambas and Śantaras. The Elephant has figured on Satavahana, Ganga and Vijayanagar coins. The boar also has been used by many dynasties. The emblems were not exclusive to any particular dynasty.

Apart from the Pandyas of Madura, the Pandyas of Ucchangi had the fish emblem. Aditya Deva's son claims to have set up his "fish crest" on the great rocks of the chief mountains, (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 149-50). B. A. Saletore (*Ancient Karnatak*, I: Tuluva) says that there is no direct evidence for the flags and emblems of the Ālupa rulers. It appears as if he (and others who have written about Alupas) has overlooked the only published inscription of the Ālupas that has any bearing on this. I am referring to Inscription No: 253, *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII. This inscription located at the Mahalingeswara Temple at Venoor, South Kanara is perhaps the earliest Dated inscription in the District. The published text reads:

1. Svasti Śri Saka Nṛipa Kālātita Samvatsa
2. ra Satañgaḷeṇṭunūra Eṇbhattombataneya
3. Prabhavādi Samvatsaram Pravartise/Svastyā
4. virbhoota Vismita Pitāmahā **(Saka 889 Prabhavā =967 A. D.)**
5. . dōrana Samvardhita Sakaḷa Kūlā
6. Māna **Meena Lanchhanopeta** Satyaśau

7. Chāchāra Nayavinaya Vīralakshmī
8. Vāsa Vakshasthaḷa Bhṛitya Chintāmaṇi......

The rest is unfortunately built in so that we do not have the details of the issuer and other particulars of the grant.

A comparison with No: 279 of the same volume however shows that No: 253 is definitely an Ālupa Record. No: 279 reads:

1. Svastyaṇḍa Vibhūta Vistī
2. rṇa Pitāmahāvalōkana Sam
3. varddhita Kulābhimānasa
4. Kaḷa Śrīmat Āḷuvarasarum
5. Paṭṭi (yoḍeyo)nu Rājyam Ge
6. Yye.........*etc.*

So we now have a definite statement that the Ālupas had the fish emblem.

All coins definitely attributable to the Pandyas of Madura have legends in Tamil such as *Sōnāḍukoṇḍan*, *Kaliyuga Rāman*, *Kaccivaḷangum Perumāḷ*, *Ellāndalaiyāṇan*, *Bhuvanēka veeran* and *Kōdaṇḍarāman*. The first three have been attributed to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (about 1216 A. D.); fourth to Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (about 1251 A. D.); fifth to Vikrama Pāṇḍya (about 1283 A. D.) and the last to Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (about 1302 A.D.). The coins bearing the legend *Srī Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* in Nagari and Kannada would, therefore, be not of the Pandyas of Madura, particularly in view of the fact that the legends of mediæval Pandyan coins are substantiated by inscriptions. The find spots of the coins bearing the Nagari and Kannada legends again and to the possibilities that these coins are not of the Madura Pandyas.

All the coins illustrated in the plate are from my collection and these have been recovered from Mangalore, Udayavara and Barkur—all of which have been capitals of the Ālupas at various periods. Those in the collections of two other collectors here have come from the same places. All the Pandyan gold coins in the Madras Museum, and those distributed by it to other museums came from South Kanara. Major C. H. Biddulph acquired a coin similar to No. 1 of the B. M. (No. 4 in the Plate) in Mangalore. Details of the source of the coins in the British Museum are not available to me but I will not be surprised if these coins should have been recovered from South Kanara District. Even now in the

monsoon, people sift the gravel and sand in certain storm-water drains in Barkur and Udayavara and turn up numbers of these fanams.

I assign all these coins including those of the British Museum to Ālupas of Āḷvakheda or Tuḷuva.

We shall now try to find out the identity of the ruler who may have issued these coins.

Two inscriptions at the Hirenemiswara Basady, Varānga, South Kanara, mention a ruler bearing the name or title *Pandya Dhananjaya*. It should be noted that the words are arranged exactly as on the coins—Pandya Dhananjaya, and not Dhananjaya Pandya. The inscriptions are unpublished and are numbered 526 and 527 of 1928-29. No. 526 begins :

Svasti Samasta Bhuvana Vikhyāta......Pāṇḍya Rājādhirāja Paramēśwara Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Śaraṇāgata vajrapanjara...... Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya......Paṭṭi Odeyan dushṭa nigraha śishṭa pratipālana *etc*.... B. A. Saletore assigns this inscription to Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadēva, the Ālupa King whom he places about 1088 A. D.

No. 527 is dated Śaka 1 (25) 4 Angirasa (1332 A. D.). This record mentions a Gopiswararāya with the titles *Pandita Pandya, Pandya Dhananjaya, Arirāya Basavasankhara* etc.

Inscription No. 281 of *SII*. VII dated Śaka 1062 Siddhārti (1140 A. D.) of the Ālupa King Bhujabala Kavi Alupendra refers to a coin named Pāṇḍya Gaḍāṇa. *Evidently* the coin referred to is this coin. Bhujabala Kavi, whose titles show that he was a Sovereign, would not have mentioned a coin of Madura Pandyas. His titles in the inscription are "Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśwara ... Srimat Pratāpa Chakravarti ..." showing that he was not subordinate to any other. The transaction referred to in the inscription records that certain lands were obtained from the Toḷahāras of Sūral for a sum of 30 Pandya Gadyanas on "mortgage with possession and enjoyment" and that the amount together with the interest was donated to the Agra(hara).

Of the coins illustrated, **Pl. VI. 1**, from its fabric and inscription appears to be the earliest and should be assigned to Pandya Dhananjaya of Inscription No. 526/1928-29. The second and third coins appear to be later and should perhaps be rightly assigned to Pandya Dhananjaya of No. 527/1928-29. The Fanam bearing a single Nagari letter *Vī* should be assigned to Vira Kulasekhara and that bearing *Sa* (or *So*) should be assigned to Soyideva.

Coins **(Pl. VI. 4-5)** which are called Bangar Pagodas or the coins of the Banga (chieftains) also bear the same Nagari legend. The Bangas claimed direct descent from the Alupas and some kings bore the name *Pāṇdyapparasa.* Tradition says that the first chieftain of this family, Vira Narasimha Bangarāja was placed over the 15 Māgaṇes in Kanara by Hoysaḷa Vira Narasimha. Chandrasekhara Bangarāja was known as the "Banga of wealth". The reverse inscription definitely connects it with the Ālupa coins.

This is not the place to go into certain vexing questions such as whether the Ālupas were connected with the Pandyas of Madura ; how the Ālupas whose earliest inscriptions give no titles to them, suddenly assume titles like Sōma Kula Tilaka, Uttama Pāṇḍya etc. ; and readers who may desire more information about the Ālupas are referred to B. A. Saletore's *Ancient Karnatak,* I, Tuluva. All the facts about Ālupas can be obtained from this work and it is not necessary that one should agree with the conclusions arrived at therein.

Finally, we may note some of the other names of coins appearing in inscriptions of the district. We have a "Śankhada Gaḍyāṇa" (Conch-coin) in No. 232 of *SII,* VII. We have two varieties of coins named according to the localities where they were circulating—Mangaḷūru Gaḍyāṇa and Bārkūru Gaḍyāṇa. Mangalore and Barkur were the two broad divisions of the district. We then have generic names—Honnu, Kāṭi Honnu, Varaha, Varaha Gaḍyāṇa, Doḍḍa Varaha, Gaḍyāṇa, Kāṭi Gaḍyāṇa, Śuddha Kāṭi Gaḍyāṇa ; Paṇa or haṇa ; tāra, Bārkūra Tāra and saṇṇa pratāpa. Brāhmaṇa Hadi Tāra and Śūdra Haḍi tāra are two interesting names of which nothing can be made out at present[1].

An Unpublished coin of Jagadekamalla [Pl. VI. 11]

This gold coin recovered in South Kanara District along with some fractional denominations of the same, shows on the obverse, a maned lion to the left with the right paw raised and tail lifted and looped over its back. In the field above to the right there is a circle probably representing the sun. On the reverse, there is a 4 line Kannada legend reading *Sri Ja/ga de ka ma lla/* x x *ra ja* x/ x x in a circle. The reverse is slightly worn. Wt : 60.4 grains. The coin is unpublished so far and

1. My thanks are due to :

Dr. S. T. Satyamurty, Director of Museums, Madras.
Dr. M. Sheshadri, Director of Archaeology, Mysore.
The Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London.

is probably the issue of Hoysala Vira Narasimha II who bore the title Jagadekamalla.

The Fractional coins **(Pl. VI. 12-13)** weigh 1.5 to 5 grains and show on the obverse a lion either to the right or to the left, and on the reverse, a cross within a circle.

Ālupa Coins—A Post-script.

After sending the article to the Editor, I have received from the Government Epigraphist for India the transcripts of the two unpublished inscriptions, Nos. B 526 and 527 of 1928-29.

The terms "Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya" occur in the string of titles given to the Ālupa Dynasty in both the inscriptions. The relevant part of No : B 526 mentions that "after many thrones (reigns)...Paṭṭiyoḍeya ruled...after him, Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiyoḍeya ruled...after him Kulashekhāḷuva ruled... after him Nūrmaḍi Cakravarti II ruled...his younger brother Kundaṇa Kshóṇipāla (Kundavarma ?) ..on account of being famous in the world as the golden earrings of Vidyā Vilāsinī (Sarasvati) (was known as) Paṇḍita Pandya; on account of being Pāṇḍya, Dhananjaya was bound to be the protector of the Dharma...

So the reference here is to Kundaṇa Kshoṇipala, probably Kundavarma III and not to Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva as surmised by B. A. Saletore.

No. B 527 is seriously damaged and the relevant parts of the inscription giving details of grant is lost. The date (Śaka 1254 Angirasa etc) is visible as also the titles of the Ālupas at the commencement. A Sarvādhikāri Narasimha is also mentioned. The names Gopiswararaya etc. mentioned by Saletore cannot be traced.

I am thankful to Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund for the transcripts.

GOLD COINS FROM GOA

G. H. KHARE

During my visit to Goa State in 1964 I visited Shri Yashawanta Baburao Prabhudesai of Koṭhambī, a village about two miles to the south-east of the railway station Chāndar near Maḍgaon and examined his collection of Indian coins in gold, silver, copper and other metals numbering about 650. Out of these about 120 coins were either worn out or not worth minute examination being counterfiet or forged. About 240 belonged to the Muhammadan and European powers and Indian States and the rest or about 290 coins belonged to either ancient Indian or to medieval Hindu series. Out of these 200 silver coins were very tiny in size, say 4 mm in diameter at the most,[1] practically round in shape, with one side plain and the other bearing partially within a dotted circle the figure of either a lion or a horse or an elephant all to the proper right with either a sword or a dagger at the top. Nine coins were of the Vijayanagara emperor Harihara and their peculiarity lies in the fact that they are all of silver. Though they cannot be said to be unique, they are certainly rare. Some of the gold coins in the collection appeared to me interesting and rare and I take this opportunity to describe them here.

1-5. Obv.: Portion of the figure of a lion to left.

Rev.: One has an opened umbrella (*Chhatra*) ; four have plain surfaces.

These are very small coins.

6. Obv. Within a triple circle—the middle one being of dots—a standing lion to left with one-fore-leg upraised; near its mouth in Nāgarī characters the name of the 55th cyclic year—

(1) दुर्मु
(2) खि

Rev.: Within a plain circle bounded by a dotted one

(1) श्रीसप्तको
(2) टीशलब्धवर
(3) वीरजयकेसि

1. I had no idea about the collection of the coins. So when I went there I was not equipped with intruments for measuring, weighing and photographing the coins.

(4) देव मळव

(5) र मारि

Three kings bearing the name Jayakeśin (I, II, III) are known in the Kadamba dynasty of Goa, who reigned between Ś. 974-1020 (1052-1098 A. D.), Ś. 1041-1069 (1119-1147 A. D.) and Ś. 1109-1132 (1187-1210 A. D.) respectively. The present coin may belong to any one of them as the cyclic year *Durmati* coincides with the expired Śaka years 1003, 1063, 1123, and they fall in the respective regimes of the three Jayakeśins.

Walter Elliot, in his *Coins of Southern India* has described a coin with similar legend on the reverse, but with the cyclic year *Pramoda* on the obverse and has attributed it to Kadamba Jayakeśin of Goa, without specifying his identification with the first, second or third Kings of that name.[1] This coin relates either to Jayakeśin I or the III as the cyclic year *Pramoda* falls in Śaka 1012, 1072 and 1132.

G. M. Moraes in his *Kadamba-Kula* has mentioned two similar coins with the cyclic years *Pramoda* and *Vijaya* and has attributed them to Jayakeśin the II.[2] But the photographic reproduction in his book reveals that the first coin bears a different legend on the reverse and does not bear the cyclic year *Pramoda* on the obverse. The reverse legend clearly shows that it belongs to Kadamba Śivacitta Permāḍi. The cyclic year *Pramoda* did not fall in the period of Jayakeśin II, is admitted by Moraes himself. He has given the period between Ś. 1026 and 1069 (1104 to 1147-48 A. D.) to the regime of Jayakeśin II and the cyclic year *Pramoda* coincides with Ś. 1072 (1150-51 A. D.) and thus falls out of the reign of Jayakeśin II. The second coin is so indistinct in the published plate that it is not possible to say anything definite about it. But if the cyclic year *vijaya* has been correctly read by Moraes, then the reign of Jayakeśin I and not II, as it coincides with Śaka it will fall in year 975, 1035 and 1095. Thus both the coins do not belong to Jayakeśin II.

M. G. Dikshit, has also published a similar coin with the cyclic year *Aṅgiras* and has attributed it to Jayakeśin II.[3] But the cyclic year *Aṅgiras* coincides with Śaka 974 (1052-53 A. D.), 1034 and 1094, in the reign of Jayakeśin I and so this coin also cannot be ascribed to Jayakeśin II.

Moraes has given a longer reign to Jayakeśin II, by placing earlier the initial year of his reign; but the evidence

1. Pl. II, no. 71 p. 152 C.
2. P. 383, pls. 50, 51.
3. Pl. against p. 167 and pp. 190-197.

brought forward by him in his support is not at all convincing. The inscription, which he has used as evidence for suggesting an early initial year is fragmentary and is not correctly deciphired. Sewell in his *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* has placed Jayakeśin II between S. 1041 and 1069 (1119 and 1147 A. D.) which seems to be nearer the truth.[5] Whatever may be the initial year of the reign of Jayakeśin II, his last regnal year cannot be pushed forward even by a single year as his son Śivacitta Permāḍi is known definitely reigning in the Ś. year 1069 (1147-48 A. D.).

7. Obv.: As above; but the name of the 39th cyclic year–

(1) विस्वा

(2) वसु

Rev.: Within circles as on the obverse—

(1) श्रीसप्तको

(2) टीश्वरचरण

(3) लब्धवरवीर

(4) सोयिदेव

The cyclic year *Viśvāvasu* coincides with the Śaka year 1167; and the initial year of the reign of Soyideva's son Sivacitta-Shashṭha deva is known to be the expired Śaka year 1168. So the coin undoubtedly relates to his reign.

8. Obv.: Within a cricle bounded by a dotted circle, a lion as above and a *chaurī* near its mouth.

Rev.: Within a circle bounded by a dotted circle an umbrella and below it in Nāgarī characters—

(1) श्रीमलह

(2) र मारि

M. G. Dikshit has surmised that this coin should relate to some king of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa; but its attribution to any known king of the dynasty is not possible.[6]

9. Obv.: Circles as above; but near the chest of the lion the Nagari letter श्री and at the top the word लक्ष्मा again in Nagari characters.

Rev.: Circles as above; but within them—

(1) ....

5. *JNSI*, X, P. 143.
6. P. 354.

(2) कामरा

(3) र मारि

In *JNSI*, III, p. 53, I have described a Padmaṭaṅkā bearing a similar legend on the obverse ; but the figures on its obverse and the legend on the reverse are quite different. So the two coins cannot be attributed to one and the same king. The present coin may be attributed to Kāmarāja a Kadamba King of Goa, with some probability.

In the collection of Shri K. D. Nayak a prominent citizen of Maḍgaon (Goa), I saw a gold coin of the Kadambas of Goa, the description of which is as follows —

Obv : Within a circle surrounded by dots, a lion to left. In front of the mouth of the lion the name of the 15th cyclic year विषु (currupt of वृष).

Rev : Within a circle surrounded by dots—

(1) श्री सप्तको

(2) टिचलव्वर सि

(3) वचित्त वीर हेमा

(4) ड्रिदेवर मल

(5) वर मारि

According to Sewell Kadamba Śivacitta Permāḍi (further simplifications Hermāḍi, Hemmāḍi) reigned between Śaka years 1069 and 1109 (1147 to 1187 A. D.). And the cyclic year *Vrisha* coincides with the Śaka year 1083 which falls in his reign. Therefore, the date refers to the year of the minting of the coin.

A FRESH STUDY OF THE MUSLIM COINS OF BENGAL OF THE AFGHĀN PERIOD

A. KARIM

Afghān period in Bengal is clearly defined: the period starts with the defeat of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-din Maḥmūd Shāh of Bengal, the last Husain Shāhī ruler, by Sher Shāh on 6th April, 1538 and ends with the defeat of Dā'ud Shāh Karrānī on 12th July, 1576 at the hands of Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khānān, the general of Akbar. In this period of 38 years, Bengal remained a province of the Delhi sultanate only for 14 years during the reigns of Sher Shāh Sūr and his son Islām Shāh Sūr. Then came another spell of Bengal's independance, first under a second line of the Sūrīs and then under the Karrānīs. The chronological table of the rulers is as follows :—

1.	Sher Shāh Sūr,	Sulṭān of Delhi	945-952/1538-1545
2.	Islām Shāh Sūr, Son of No. 1.	„ „	952-960/1545-1552
3.	Shamsal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī,	Sulṭān of Bengal	960-962/1552-1554
4.	Ghiyāth al-dīn Bahādur, *Son of No. 3.*	„	962-968/1554-1560
5.	Ghiyāth al-dīn Jalāl Shāh Son of No. 3	„	968-971/1560-1563
6.	Sulaimān Karrānī	„ „	972-980/1564-1572
7.	Dā'ud Karrānī Son of No. 6	„ „	980-984/1572-1576

Not many Bengal coins of this period are available. Althouh Sulaimān Karrānī (No. 6 of the above list) was independant for all practical purposes, he did not issue any coin, we are told, to ward off the vengeance of his more powerful neighbour Akbar, the Mughal emperor. Again, although numerous coins of Sher Shāh (No. I of the above list) and Islām Shāh (No. 2 of the above list) have so far come to light, not many coins of those rulers may be definitely attributed to Bengal due to absence of mint-names. Only coins having mint-names located in Bengal have been included in this present study. Coins of other rulers are really very few in number,

The available coins are classified below :—

Sher Shāh Sūr

Panduah mint :—

Variety I—

Obverse	Reverse
In square the kalima in two lines. Below پندوہ السلطان العادل	In square title of Sulṭān with *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu* and date. Then follows *Śri Sersāhi* in Nagari characters.
Margins—Names of first four companions of the Prophet	Margin—Name of the Sulṭān.

Date : 947

Ref :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1031 E, p. 265.
2. *JBORS*, 1919, p. 87.

Variety II—

Obverse	Reverse
As in variety I, but names of companions differently arranged.	As in variety I, but the words *Khallad Allāhu Mulkahu* and *Sri Sersāhī* in Nagari characters are absent.

Date : 948

Ref : 1. *Metrology*, No. 1031 F. p. 266.
2. *JBORS*, 1919, p. 86.

Satgāon Mint :—

Variety I—

Obverse	Reverse
In circle, the kalima.	In circle title of Sulṭān followed by *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu.*
Margin—Names of companions of the Prophet, followed by *al-Sulṭān al-Adil.*	Margin—Name of king, followed by *Sri Sersāhī* in Nagari and then date and mint-name.

Date : 950

Ref : 1. *Metrology*, No. 1055, p. 268.
2. *IMC, II*, No. 633, p. 88.

3. *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, No. 11, p. 66.
4. *Taifoor*, No. 62-63, p. 14.
5. *HHR*. No. 62-66, p. 14.

Variety II—Obverse as in variety I and reverse as in variety I, but date is put after the mint name.

Date : 950.

Ref : 1. *Metrology*, No. 1036, p. 268.
2. *Taifoor*, No. 64, p. 14.

Sharīfābād mint :-

Type I, Variety I—

Obverse	Reverse
In square within circle, the Kalima and below. السلطان العادل	In square within circle, title of Sulṭān followed by *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu* and then mint and date. Marginal segments-name of Sulṭān.
In marginal segments name of the Prophet.	

Date : 946, 947.

Ref : 1. *Metrology*, No. 1037, p. 268.

Type I, Variety II—

Both obverse and reverse as in variety I but in the obverse marginal segments, names of Companions of the Prophet have been arranged differently.

Dates :—946, 948.

Ref. :—*Metrology*, No. 1038, p. 268.

Type II, Variety I—

Obverse	Reverse
In double circle the Kalima. Margin—Names of companions of the Prophet followed by *al-Sulṭānal-'ādil'*.	In double circle, title of Sulṭān with *Khallada Allahu* followed by mint-name. Margin—Name of Sulṭān followed by *Sri Śersāhi* in Nagari character and date.

Dates :—949, 951.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1039, p. 269.
2. *Taifoor*, No. 70, p. 15.
3. *HHR*, No. 71, p. 15.

Type II, Variety II—

The coins are same as in variety I, but in the reverse the date precedes the Nagari characters.

Dates :—949, 951.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1040, p. 269.
2. *IMC*, II, No. 641, p. 89.
3. Thomas, No. 349, p. 398.
4. *NS*, XLIII, p. 16.

Type III—

Obverse

In square the *Kalima* and below السلطان العادل
Margin—Names of first four companions of the Prophet.

Reverse

In square title of king followed by *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu* and the mint-name and date and then *Śri Sersāhi* in Nagari characters.
Margin—Name of the king

Date :—948.

Ref. :—1. *IMC*, No. 639, 640, p. 88.
2. *HHR*, No. 45, p. 10.

Fathabad mint :—

Type I—

Obverse

In a circular area *al-Sulṭān al-'ādil al-muwayyidu ba-tāyīd al-Rahmān Farid al-dunyā wal-din* followed by the mint-name.

Reverse

In a circular area *Abul-Muzaffar Sher Shāh al-Sulṭān Khallada Mulkahu wa Sultānuhu* followed by the date.

Dates :—946, 949.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1056A, p. 275.
2. *Taifoor*, No. 49-51, pp. 9-10.
3. *NS*, XLII, p. 14.

Type II—

Obverse

In a square the Kalima followed by *al-Sulṭān al-'ādil.*
Margin—Names of first four companions of the Prophet.

Reverse

In a square title of Sulṭān with *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu*, followed by date and *Śri Sersāhi* in Nagari characters.
Margin—Name of king and mint.

Dates :—946, 947, 948, 949.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1057, 1058, p. 275.
2. *IMC*, II, No. 620, p. 85.
3. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 491.

Type III—

Obverse

In circle the Kalima and below (?) ماحد[1]
Margin—Name of first four companions of the Prophet followed by *al-Sulṭān al-'ādil.*

Reverse

In circle title of Sulṭān with *Khallada Allāhu Mulkāhu wa Sulṭānuhu.*
Margin—Name of Sulṭān and *Śri Sersāhi* in Nagari characters and mint-name and date.

Dates :—949, 951.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1059, p. 276.
2. *NS*, XLII, p. 13.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 52, p. 11.
4. *HHR*, No. 60-61, p. 13.

Islām Shāh Sūr

Satgāon mint :—

Variety I—

Obverse

In circle the kalima.
Margin :—Name of first four companions of the Prophet with their honorofic title, e.g. Siddiq etc.- followed by *al-Sulṭān al-'ādil.*

Reverse

In circle *Islām Shāh bin Sher Shāh Sulṭān Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu wa ālā Amruhu wa shānuhu.*
Margin :—Initial name and title of Sulṭān followed by *Śri Islamsah* in Nagari character and mint-name and date.

Dates :—952, 953.

Ref :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1287, 1287 A, p. 328.
2. *IMC*, II, No. 796, p. 112.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 94-98, pp. 19-20.

1. This is the reading of H. N. Wright in his *Metrology*. H. E. Stapleton (*NS*, XLII, p. 13) suggests the reading of the word as ماحبة linking up the kalima with the margin, i.e. the Prophet with his companions. In the coins there is, however, no trace of the final h (ة) and in the coin published by H. N. Wright, the initial letter seems more like م rather than ص. N. K. Bhattasali (*Taifoor*, No. 94-98, p. 19 and *HHR*, No. 101-102, p. 19) reads the word صاجر or صاجد; in the coins published by him the initial letter seems more like ص rather than م and there also seems to be a dot below the middle letter.

4. *HHR*, No. 101-102, p. 19.
5. *NS*, XLII, p. 20.

Variety II

Obverse	Reverse
In square the kalima and date. Margin :—Names of first four companions of the Prophet with their honorofic titles.	In square *Islām Shāh ibn Sher Shāh Sulṭān Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu* followed by *Śri Islamsah* in Nagari characters. Margin :—Intial name of Sultān and mint-name.

Dates :—952, 953, 954, 955, 957.

Ref. :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1288-1290, p. 329.
2. *IMC*, II, No. 797, p. 113.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 90-93, p. 19.
4. *HHR*, No. 88-92, p. 17.

Sharifābād mint :—

One variety

Obverse	Reverse
In a double circle the Kalima. Margin :—Names of first four companions of the Prophet followed by *al-Sulṭānal-'ādil.*	In a double circle *Islām Shāh Sulṭān ibn Sher Shāh Sulṭān Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu.* Margin :—Initial name of Sulṭān followed by mint, date and *Śri Islamsah* in Nagari characters.

Dates :—952, 953.

Ref :—1. *Metrology*, No. 1291, 1292, pp. 329-330.
2. *NS*, XLII, p. 20.
3. *HHR*, No. 97-98, p. 18.
4. *Taifoor*, No. 99-101, p. 20.

Fatḥābād mint :—

One variety

Obverse	Reverse
In cricle the Kalima. Margin :—Names of first four companions of the Prophet followed by *al-Sulṭān al-'Adil*	In a circle *Shāh Islām ibn Sher Shāh Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu wa A 'la Amruhu.* Margin :—Mint and date followed by initial name of Sulṭān and *Śri Islam Sāhi* in Nagari characters.

Date :—952.

Ref :—1. Metrology, No. 1304 ABC, pp. 333-334

2. NS, XLII, p.19.
3. HHR, No. 99-
100. p. 19.

Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī

One type

Obverse	Reverse
In a square the Kalima. Margin :—Names of four comanions of the Prophet	In as quare, *Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī Khallada Allahu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu.* Margin :—King's initial name *Shams Al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn Abū' l-Muzaffar* followed by date and mint-name.

Mint :—Arakān (?).

Date :—962.

Ref :—1. *IMC*, II, No. 229, p. 180.
2. *BMC*, No. 152-154, pp. 56-57.

Ghiyāth al-dīn Bahādur Shāh

One type

Obverse	Reverse
In a square the Kalima. Margin : – Names of the four companions of the Piophet.	In a square *Bahādur Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu* followed by *Sri Bahadur Sāhi* in Nagari characters. Margin :—King's initial name *Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa' l-dīn Abū' l-Muzaffar* and date.

Mint :—Nil.

Date :—964, 966,967,968.

Ref :—1. *IMC*, II, No. 230-233, p.181.
2. *BMC*, No. 155-159, p. 58.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 203, p. 37.
4. *HHR*, No. 152, p. 31.

Ghiyāth al-dīn Jalāl Shāh

One Type

Obverse	Reverse
In a square the Kalima. Margin :–Names of four companions of the Prophet.	In a square *Sulṭān Jalāl al-dīn bin*[1] *Muḥammad Shāh ḥāsī Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu* Margin :—*Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l dīn Ab'ūl-Muzaffar* and date.

Mint :–Nil

Date :–969-970.

Ref :—1. *IMC*, II. No. 234-235, p. 181.
2. *HHR*, No. 153, p. 31.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 204, p. 38.

Dā'ud Shāh Karrānī

One Type

Obverse	Reverse
In a square the Kalima. Margin :–Names of four companions of the Prophet.	In a square *Dāud Shāh Sulaimān Shāh Karrānī Khallāda Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sultānuhu* followed by *Sri Dā'ud Sāhī* in Nagari characters. Margin : —"*Dā'ud al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn Abū' l-Muzaffar!*" followed by date mint.

Mint :–Tanda.

Date :–980, 981, 984.

Ref :–1. *IMC*, II, No. 236-238, p. 182.
2. *BMC*, No. 160-162, p. 59.
3. *Taifoor*, No. 205-206, pp. 38-39.

1. H. N. Wright (*IMC*, II, No. 234-235, p. 181) does not read the word *bin* and Lane-Pool (*BMC*, Introduction p. XXXVI) takes it to be *Tashdīd*, but as Bhattasali (*Taifoor*, p. 38, note 1) points out, the word is a clear *bin*. In *BMC*, it really looks like *Tashdīd* but comparing Taifoor collection it should be corrected as *bin*.

Bārbak Shāh (Unidentified king)

One Type

Obverse	Reverse
In a circle divided into six fields *Bārbak al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn Abū' l Muzaffar Bārbak Shāh al-Sulṭān bin.*	In a circle divided into six fields ....[1] *Khallada Allāhu Mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu* followed by date.

Mint :--Nil.

Date :--949.

Ref :--1. *IMC*, II, No. 239, p. 182.
2. *Shillong Cabinet*, No. 1-2, p. 175.
3. *Bengal : Past and Present*, XXXVIII, P.1, No. 2.

Abstract of classification

Sher Shāh :—Mint	Panduah,	date	947, 948.
,,	Satgāon,	,,	950.
,,	Sharīfābād,	,,	946, 947, 948, 949, 951.
,,	Fatḥābād,	,,	946, 948, 949, 951.
Islām Shāh :—Mint	—Satgāon,	,,	952, 953, 954, 955, 957.
,,	Sharīfābād,	,,	952, 953.
,,	Fatḥābād,	,,	952.
Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Sūr :—Mint Arakan(?),		Date	962.
Ghiyāth al-dīn Bahādur Shāh,		,,	964, 966, 967, 968.
Ghiyāth al-dīn Jalāl Shāh,		,,	969, 970.
Dā'ud Shāh Karrānī, mint–Tanda		,,	981, 984.
Bārbak Shāh		,,	949.

Sher Shāh succeeded to the Bengal Sultanate just after dispossessing the Husain Shāhī dynasty. So in type, metal and legends inscribed on them, his coins followed those of the

1. Two words are not clearly deciphered. Of these the first word is cut in *IMC*, II, but both the words are intact in *Shillong Cabinet* and *Bengal : Past and Présent*. Bourdillon reads the second word as ضومان in *IMC* : in *Shillong Cabinet*, Botham reads the two words a *Humāyūn Shāh* and Bhattasali in *Bengal : Past and Present* accepts the reading. None of these readings could satisfy me and at the same time I cannot offer any suggestion for a better reading.

supplanted dynasty. But he made an innovation by inscribing his name in Nagari characters along with kalima and his name and title in Arabic characters. This was part of his larger policy of winning over his non-Muslim subjects which he adopted throughout his reign. Sher Shāh issued coins from only one mint of the supplanted dynasty : i. e. Fatḥābād. It is identified with modern Faridpur in East Pakistan. The mint was established for the first time by Sulṭān Jalāl-al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh (818-836/1415-1432), but continued ever since. Of the other three mints, Satgāon was an old mint, though the rulers of the 'supplanted' Husain Shāhī dynasty did not utilise it. Satgāon mint was first established by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq of Delhi and it continued to be a mint town just for one hundred years until the reign of Sulṭān Jalāl-al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. Two other mints, those of Panduah and Sharīfābād were established by Sher Shāh. Panduah was an old town having some importance in the Hindu period, but it came to the limelight in the Muslim period. Muslims gave it the name of Fīrūzābād, made it their capital from time to time and issued coins from the time of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-dīn 'Alī Shāh' (742-746/1341-1345) to the time of Sulṭān Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh. By using its old name on the coins, Sher Shāh's intention may have been to popularise his administration to the vast majority of the local people of his usurped territory. Sharīfābād came to prominence only during this time ; it is identified with the headquarter station of the Sarkar of the same name recorded in the *A'in-i-Akbari* of Abū'l Faḍl. Two other mint-names are available in the coins of the Afghān period-Arakān and Tanda. Arakān is read on the coins of Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Sūr, but as will be seen presently, the reading is controversial. Tanda was made the capital by Dā'ūd Shāh Karrānī, the last independent Sulṭān of Bengal. He issued coins from this mint.

Sher Shāh had had his first taste of sovereignty in Bengal after defeating its ruler Ghiyāth al-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. But his earliest dated coins, those of 945 do not bear any mint name of Bengal. The following coins bearing the date 945 have so far come to light.

(a) 3 silver coins of Raipara hoard, P. S. Dohar, Dist., Dacca. All coins belong to one type (one of a different variety bearing a different style of writing), all dated 945, but having no mint name.

Obverse	**Reverse**
Within a square the kalima, in the remaing rectangular portion *al-Sulṭān al-Adil.* Marginal segments : names of	Within a square *Sher Shāh al-Sulṭān Khallada Allāha mulkahu 945* followed by *Śrī Serśāhī* in Nagari characters,

first four companions of the Prophet. Marginal segments: *Farīd al-dunyā wa'l-dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar.*

Ref :—1. *Taifoor*, No. 19, p. 4.
2. *HHR*, No. 29, p. 7.
3. *Islamic culture*, January, 1936, p. 124-130.
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, V*, p. 63.

(b) One silver coin of the same type and bearing the same date but bearing the mint name Shergarh.

Ref :—*Metrology*, No. 1040 B, p. 270.

(c) One silver coin of the same date and bearing the mint Qila Shergarh. It differs from the above coins in that it also contains on the obverse *Farīd al-Dunyā wa'l-dīn.*

Ref :—*Metrology*, No. 1040 A, p. 269.

(d) Two copper coins, ¼ and 1/10 bearing no mint name but dated 945.

Ref :—*Metrology*, No. 1257, 1270, pp. 323, 325.

N. K. Bhattasali holds that the silver coins from the Raipara hoard "are from a Bengal mint though no mint is named.[1]" While making this statement, however, Bhattasali was not aware of the other coins of 945 published by H. N. Wright in his *Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*. So he cannot be blamed for holding such an opinion, but time has yielded better results and now we can suggest that the three silver coins of the Raipara hoard may not be definitely assigned to a Bengal mint. In fact H. N. Wright informs us that one duplicate of his coin No. 1040 B was discovered by R. D. Banerjee from Hyderabad, Sind.[2]

Bhattasali has drawn yet another conclusion from his study of the Raipara coins. He says that Sher Shah's accession took place "at Gaur within this fortnight between the end of June and the middle of July, 1538, i. e. about the middle of *Safar*, the second month of 945 A. H."[3]

The discovery of coins dated 945 undoubtedly disproves the earlier theory of K. R. Qanungo (of course on the basis of some Persian choronicle) that Sher Shāh's accession took place at Gaur after the battle of Chaunsa in 946. But Bhattasali's theory seems to be equally wrong both in regard to the date and place of Sher Shāh's accession.

1. *Taifoor*, p. XVIII.
2. *Metrology*, p. 270, note.
3. *Islamic Culture*, January, 1936, p. 130.

We have discussed the problem elsewhere,[1] so only main points may be summarised here. Two points have to be determined—(a) place and (b) date of Sher Shāh's accession.

(a) Both Qanungo and Bhattasali place the accesson at Gaur.[2] Qanungo was influenced by the Persian Chroniclers, Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, 'Abd-al-Qādir Badāonī, and Ni'mat Allāh, all of whom state that the accession took place in Bangālah. Bhattasali took the evidence of chroniclers as an axiom and the "discovery of 945 A. H. coins at Raipara and their total absence in any other find outside Bengal" strengthens his view. Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, the earliest of the Chroniclers, though not really contemporary, writes that after the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Shah went to Bangālah, assumed the title of Shāh, struck coins and read Khuṭba in his own name.[3] But the evidence of coins is otherwise; coins were struck not after the battle of Chaunsa but before. Moreover after the battle of Chaunsa Sher Shāh had no time to go to Bangālah, he was busy pursuing Humāyūn. 'Abbās Sarwānī writes, "Sher Khān himself pursued the emperor Humāyūn and got possession of the whole country as far as Kalpi and Kanauj... Jahāngīr Quli Beg with 6,000 cavalry was in Bengal; him he ordered to be put to death."[4] It seems therefore that Nizām al-dīn Bakhshī was misinformed about Sher Shāh's accesion and the misinformation was handed over to the other chroniclers. As the date in the Chronicles is wrong, so also the place of accession. As for the evidence of coins Bhattasali was influenced by the discovery of all the three coins (at his disposal) dated 945 from Bengal. But time has yielded better results; more coins have come to light and they supply the mint names of Shergarh and Qila Shergarh. The mint Shergarh aud Qila Shergarh show that Sher Shāh's earliest extant coins were issued from lands that were in his possession in Bihar and outside Bengal. Coins may or may not have been issued by him from Gaur in 945, but the Shergarh coins certainly invalidate Bhattasali's theory. The fortnight, in which according to Battasali, Sher Shāh was coronated in Gaur was the most troublesome period in his career.

Humāyūn captured Chunar and marched towards Gaur. Sher Shāh apprehending the loss of treasure and wealth, marched towards Gaur and reached the place through favourable current of the Ganges, while Humāyūn was yet at

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, V, 1960, pp. 63-71.
2. Qanungo : *Sher Shah*, p. 208 : *Islamic Culture*, January, 1936, p. 130.
3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica text, p. 101.
4. Elliot and Dawson, IV, reprinted by Susil Gupta & Co., Calcutta with the title *Sher Shah*, p. 94 (hereinafter referred to as 'Abbās).

Teliagarhi. There Humāyūn was held up by Jalāl Khān and in the meantime Sher Shāh removed treasures of Gaur at Rohtas through the infrequented route of Jharkhand. He was in great suspense throughout this period till he reached Rohtasgarh safe. The time was not proper at all for coronation or minting coins. Secondly, if the coins were issued from Gaur, we fail to understand why they do not bear the mint-name. Gaur was a mint town under the Bengal Sulṭāns with the name of Lakhnautī; near about is Panduah which was also a mint town under the Bengal Sulṭāns with the name of Fīrūzābād. Sher Shāh himself issued coins from Panduah mint later.

A study of the chronicles shows that Sher Shāh's mind changed only after Humāyūn captured Gaur and he (Sher Shāh) reached Rohtasgarh safe. By then Sher Shāh had been reduced to a desperate situation. While Humāyūn shut himself up at Gaur, Sher Shāh turned towards the West, expelled the Mughals from all places upto Kanauj, established his own supremacy and collected revenues. On receipt of this news, Humāyūn left Gaur and proceeded towards Agra in about March 1539 (Shawwāl, 945). According to Jauhar, before the emperor reached Munghyr, he received the news that Sher Shāh already "took the title of Shāh."[1] Obviously therefore Sher Shāh's assumption of Sovereignty took place after his occupation of the whole country upto Kanauj. According to both Jauhar and "Abbās Sarwānī, after his conquest of the whole country upto Kanauj, Sher Shāh gathered all his troops and concentrated them in the neighbourhood of Rohtas.[2] Here in the neighbourhood of Rohtas, he built a fort near Bahrkunda and gave it the name of Shergarh,[3] the ruins of which are seen even today.[4] The fort is also in the neighbourhood of his paternal territory, Sasaram. His earliest coins were also issued from this place. Three different sources. Jauhar, 'Abbās and coins lead to the conclusion that Sher Shāh's accession took place in Shergarh. The date may be put between his occupation of the country upto Kanauj and Humāyūn's return march from Gaur, i. e. from February to March, 1539 (Ramaḍān to Shawwāl, 945).[5]

Persian chronicles and modern historians would have us believe that Sher Shāh had an undisputed sovereignty over

1. *Tadhkirat al-Waqiat*, tr. by Stewart, p. 15.
2. Ibid, p. 15 ; 'Abbās, p. 84.
3. 'Abbās, p. 143.
4. M. Hamid, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, p. 133.
5. According to Qanungo's calculation, Sher Shāh occupied the country upto Kanauj during the period for October 1539 to February, 1539. (*Sher Shāh*, p. 177).

Bengal. His first governor Khiḍr Khān married the daughter of the late Bengal Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh and gave an air of sovereignty, but his rebellion was nipped in the bud. Since then Sher Shāh's administration in Bengal went on smoothly. But Sher Shāh's mints in Bengal do not cover the whole area. He issued coins from only four mints in Bengal, three, Panduah, Satgaon and Sharīfābād were situated in West Bengal and one, Fatḥābād, in the eastern part, in modern Dacca division. But he issued no coin from any mint situated in north-eastern Bengal (Mymensingh and Sylhet region) and eastern most region (Chittagong region). Normally, this absence of mint town in these two regions does not deserve any emphasis, but there is contrary evidence suggesting that Sher Shāh did not have an undisputed sovereignty over these two regions. As for Chittagong, the Portuguese sources suggest that although Sher Shāh made an attempt to conquer Chittagong, his attempt proved abortive. Campos for exemple states that Sher Shāh could not annex Chittagong.[1]

As for north-eastern region the evidence is rather conclusive. Adequate attention has not so far been paid to the coins of Bārbak Shāh, an unidentified king, but who issued coins in 949, i.e. right in the middle of the reign of a mighty emperor like Sher Shāh. Two coins of this pretender (?) have so far been available in company of many of the genuine coins of the Bengal Sulṭāns, one from Jasodal, in the Kishoreganj sub division of Mymensingh district and the other from Sonakhira, Sylhet. The two coins are of the same type, in one the unit figure of the date is cut, in the other, the date 949 is very clear. There is no mint name and it is difficult to identify the issuer of these coins. On the basis of his own reading, Bhattasali suggests that in the Mymensingh region, rebels gathered together against Sher Shāh and they had the boldness to set up, "a puppet prince as the son of Humāyūn who had fled from India and even to mint coins in his name."[2] Though the reading of "Humāyūn Shāh" is by no means certain, there is no doubt that a rebel group not only resisted Sher Shāh but actually selected one of them as their King. In the absence of a better preserved coins or literary evidence it is difficult to say, whether this rebel king had any connection with the dispossessed Husain Shāhī dynasty. The absence of any of Sher Shāh's coins from mint-towns situated in north-eastern and Chittagong regions, may not therefore be lightly by passed.

1. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p. 48.
2. *Bengal: Past and present*, XXVIII, p. 18.

No mint-name is inscribed on the coins of S͟hams al-dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh's children.

Much controversy has centred round the reading of the mint-name Arakān on the coins of S͟hams al-dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh himself. Bourdi Un in *IMC*, first read it and on this basis scholars have concluded that S͟hams al-dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh conquered Arakān and issued coins from the Magh capital city. This theory was for the first time challenged by A.B.M. Habibullah on the following gorunds[1]:

1. The reading of *Arakān* is not quite clear, it looks more like *Rikāb* (رکاب).

2. The modern name *Arakān* was not then in use, be-because the Muslim historians always used the name *Rak͟hang* (رخنک).

3. It conflicts with the known facts about Bengal's hold in the south-east at this period, or in other words Bengal's weakness at this period does not allow the contention that S͟hams al-dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh Sūr could invade and conquer Arakān.

N. B. Sanyal tried to refute this opinion of Habibullah. His arguments are as follows[2]:—

(a) He tries to re-establish that the reading of the coin is correct.

(b) By consulting the contemporary history of Tippera and Arakan he establishes that Bengal was not weak at that time.

(c) When these two points agree that Bengal's hold over Arakan was not an impossibility under Sulṭān Muḥammad S͟hāh Sūr, Sanyal thinks, it would "serve little purpsse to dispute the use of this foreign term (Arakān) in preference to the native name."

Sanyal's second point cannot be seriously disputed. Considering the contemporary situation in Arakan and Tippera, as has been done by Sanyal, it may be suggested that Bengal's hold over Arakan was not an impossibility. But the reading of *Arakān* cannot be accepted. 'Arakān' is not only a foreign name, but the form was not known to the Muslims at that time. Muslim historians always used the form 'Rak͟hang.' The reading also is not clear, it looks more like (رکاب *Rikab*).

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XI, 1945, p. 36.
2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVII, No. I, 1951, pp. 11-13.

Abbreviations used in this article

1. *BMC*, Lane Poole : *Catalogue of Coins of the Muhammadan States in the British Museum.*
2. *BHR* : N. K. Bhattasali : *Catalogue of the Hakim Habibur Rahman Collection of Coins in the Dacca Museum.*
3. *IMC*, 11 : H.N. Wright : *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol.11
4. *JBORS* : *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
5. *JRAS* : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
6. *Metrology* : H.N. Wright : *The Sultans of Delhi : Their Coins and Metrology.*
7. *NS* : *Numismatic Supplement in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
8. *Shillong Cabinet* : A.W. Botham : *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Cabinet, Assam.*

Taifoor : N.K. Bhattasali : *Catalogue of the Taifoor Collection of Coins in the Dacca Museum.*

10. Thomas : E. Thomas : *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.*

MISCELLANEA

1

INTERESTING PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BOMBAY.

[PL. XI]

A few years back, when I was at Bombay with the Prince of Wales Museum, a gentleman of acquaintance (I regret I am failing in my memories about his name), who has a small shop of gold and silver ornaments at Mumbadevi and is also interested in coin-collecting, brought two interesting coins to show to me; and possibly one of them he presented to the Museum. He then narrated to me that a *jarī-purānāwālā* (one who visits door to door and buys all sorts of domestic refuse) had those pieces amongst the trinklets that he had brought to his shop for sale. While handing over the trinklets to him, the *jarī-purānāwālā* took these pieces out of the lot saying that they were pieces of lead. But the keen eyes of the shop-keeper detected that they were also silver pieces and appear to be coins. He took those pieces, examined them and interrogated the *jarī-purānāwālā* about those pieces and was informed by him that the latter had purchased about two *ratals* (pounds) of such pieces as lead at some door in Bombay itself and sold them to some Kansārā (copper-smith) at the rate of a few rupees a pound. Thereafter my friend and the *jarī-purānāwālā* made frantic efforts to recover the sold pieces from the Kansārā. But they failed. By then the Kansārā himself not realising the real nature of the metal had melted them along with other metals or had sold them to some silver-smith.

As such these two pieces **(Pl. XI, 1-2)** are the only remnants of a big hoard of silver punch-marked coins, first of its kind, to be known from Bombay or Greater Bombay.

The coins are of an interesting variety; but not unknown. Similar 52 coins were found as a hoard in 1876 in a field near Sultanpur, two miles north of Wai in Satara district. The find was published in detail by Codrington.[1] The extant specimens from this find are now only in the British Museum.

These coins are thick, slightly scyphate with a plain reverse, and with a symbol on obverse. The symbol is seen in

1. *JBBRAS*, XII (OS), p. 400-403.

bold relief within a deep circular incuse. In striking them, it seems that the required quantity of the fluid metal was poured out on to the board or block of wood and the punch was pressed on while the metal was still more or less soft. The round thick edge countenances wax impression, and favours this view. The reverse is blank.

Fifty of them belonged to the variety known by the present two coins. The other two represented, two different symbols. The symbol represented by fifty coins in that hoard constituted of a circle in centre, with two solid circles, placed at a little distance, both separately and attached with the central circle with two lines. The symbol in the modern mechanical terms, may be described as a central pulley with two small pullies connected with belts.

The coins in that hoard were known of three weights: (i) ranging between 108.7 and 99 grains; (ii) ranging between 58 and 45 grains; and (iii) ranging between 23 and 21 grains. They probably represented three denominations.

The two coins under consideration belong to different weights as they appear from their shape and size and are probably of the first and second weights. (Unfortunately, I could not record the weight of the coins then).

These coins differ only in one aspect from the coins of the Wai hoard; they have a small symbol. between the two small pulleys. The small symbol is a treskeli; and on the two coins they are in two different forms: having the arms facing right (bigger coin). (ii) having the arms facing left (smaller coin).

Thus this new find brings to light two important facts:

1. The coins have many varieties, as shown by the presence and absence of the small symbols and the forms of the small symbols.

2. On the basis of the find spot, Durga Prasad had suggested that they probably belonged to Aśmaka country.[1] The early Buddhist texts refer to Aśmaka as a south Indian country, the capital of which was Potali,[2] corresponding to Potana or Podana or Paundanya of the *Mahābhārata*.[3] The river Godavari flowed between the two kingdoms of Assaka (Aśmaka) and Mūlaka. The latter had Pratishṭhāna as its capital and Assaka (Aśmaka) laid immediately to its south. According to a commentary on *Sutta-Nipāta*, the two kingdoms of Assaka

1. *NS*, XLVII, p. 76.
2. *Sutta nipāta*, 977.
3. *Mahābhārata*, I. 177, 47.

and Mūlaka were two Āndhra territories. Bhaṭṭaswāmī, the commentator of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, identifies Aśmaka with Mahārāshṭra.[1] The present find lends support to this identification. But wheather Mahārāshṭra of the Ancient period could be equated with the present State of Maharashtra and that modern Bombay was a part of ancient Mahārāshṭra cannot be suggested ; yet it can be conveniently said that the territory now known as Konkan was the land of the currency of these coins.

The coins may be dated to the period prior to the expansion of the Magadhan empire to the south in the Nanda period. I would place them latest in the fifth century B. C. They may be still earlier.

P.L. GUPTA.

2

FRESH DISCOVERY OF TWO SILVER COINS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

[Pl. XI]

Mr. Karl Malte von Heinze, the famous German architect in Delhi, has in his pessession a variety of valuable antiquities, including stone sculptures, bronzes, paintings, carpets, textiles, and coins, which he has been able to acquire during his long stay in India. He continues his hobby of collecting curios and subjects of art. Consequently his collection is constantly being enriched by fresh acquisitions which his frequent professional travels in various parts of the country enable him to make. Recently I had occasion to inspect his collection of 48 silver and copper coins. These, according to him, hail from West Pakistan, as he had purchased them from somebody from that region. Mr. von Heinze kindly allowed me to take photographs of them for purposes of study.

I am still busy studying these coins. Two of them strike me as of great importance. They are clearly of Alexander the Great, **(Pl. XI. 3-4)**, similar to the two already known from Taxila; discovered by Sir John Marshall and published by him in his excellent monograph on *Taxila*, II, p. 795, Plate 235, Nos. 2 and 3. It may be observed that though there is no dearth of the coins of Alexander the Great elsewhere, in India they are very rare. I, for one, do not know of any other specimen except the two of Sir John Marshall's just noticed.

B. Ch. CHHABRA

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 12-13.

3
COINS WITH THE LEGEND GADHIKANA FROM KAUSAMBI.

There are two copper coins in the coin cabinet of Allahabad Museum bearing the Brāhmī legend गधिकन in clockwise manner in the script of 3rd or 2nd century B. C. Apart from these coins one more coin of this variety was noticed earlier by me in the collection of Shri Janeshwar Das, retired Manager court of wards, Allahabad. A fourth coin[1] of this type, bearing the same legend and symbols, has been published in this *Journal* earlier by K. D. Bajpai. As such four coins of this variety are so far known and incidentaly the provenance of all of them is Kausambi. The discription of the coins preserved in the Allahabad Museum is as follows :

1. Coin No. 571.

Circular; copper; diam. 1.3 c.m., Weight, 1. 757 grammes.

2. Coin No. 416.

Circular; copper; diam. 1. 3 c.m., Weight, 1.557 grammes.

Obv. *Gadhikana* in Brāhmī characters of about 3rd century B. C.

Rev. Chequered design.

Bajpai reads the legend as गधिकानम्[2] while I read it as गधिकन. The former thinks its correct Sanskrit form to be गन्धिकानाम् to mean 'of the Gandhikās' (or 'of dealers in perfurmes') whereas we interpret it as गाधिकानाम् to mean 'of the Gādhikas' (belonging to the Gādhi tribe), on the following grounds :

Firstly, Gāthin or Gādhi[3] was the father of Viśvāmitra. There are certain Sūktas in the third Maṇḍala of *Ṛigveda*[4] composed by the former. Viśvāmitra is styled as Gāthina in *sarvānukramaṇi.*[5] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* describes the descendants of Viśvāmitra as Gāthin or descendants of Gāthin who is described as Gādhi in epics[6] and the *Purāṇas*. In view of the facts the interpretation of the legend गधिकन as गाधिकानाम् might be accepted as a befitting one because the construction of the word requires neither a twist nor any change in its original form. As such, it will mean, of the Gādhikas or Gadhis' i. e. of the descendants of Gādhi.

1. *JNSI*, XXV, Pt. 1, p. 19, Pl. 1. 1.
2. Ibid.
3. *Vedic Index*, p. 225 by Macdonell and Keith.
4. Chatursena Shastri, *Bhārtiya Samskriti Kā Itihāsa*, p. 223, fn.
5. H. H. Wilson *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 319.
6. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 8. foot notes 9 and 10.

It might be possible that the coin might have been issued by the Gādhi tribe who might have assumed power temporarily in the 3rd-2nd century B. C. in the region between Kanauj and Kauśāmbī.

Secondly, as stated above, all these coins are found from Kauśāmbī. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki[1] the founder of Kauśāmbī was one Kuśāmba, one of the forefathers of Gādhi, the father of Viśvāmitra. Three other cities Mahodaya (Gadhipur, later Kanauj), Dharamāraṇya and Girivraja were founded by Kuśanābha, Ammurttarajasa or Ammurttaya and Vasu or Amāvasu respectively. It shows that the Gadhis might have inherited these places from their forefathers. If not all, atleast Kauśāmbī and Kanauj (called Gādhipur) must have been under their control. Again according to Paṇini's Sūtra तेन निर्वृत्तम् (4.2.68) the name Kauśāmbī is formed as कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्तम् कौशाम्बी[2]. As such the discovery of these coins from Kauśāmbī proves that the Gadhi tribe was somehow related to Kausambi and Gadhipur or modern Kanauj. These literary as well as numismatic evidences support each other. Therefore, the attribution of the coins bearing the legend गधिकन् (गाधिकानाम्), to the Gādhi tribe appears to be quite appropriate.

Finally, coins of the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas bearing the legends यौधेयानाम्[3], मालवानाम्[4], and अर्जुनायनानां[5], sounding like *Gādhikānām*, have already been published by Allan and Smith. Just as the legends यौधेयानाम्, मालवानाम् and अर्जुनायनानां occurring on the coins, have been attributed to certain tribes or people, in the same way I find no difficulty in attributing the coins bearing the legend गधिकन (गाधिकानाम्) to the Gādhi tribe, who sure were the descendants of Gādhi or Viśvāmitra.

R. R. TRIPATHI

4

A NEW YAUDHEYA MINT

I visited a deserted site of an ancient town in Haryana (the region lying between the rivers Jamuna and the Sutlej) in November, 1964. This ruined site lies about five miles east of the Bhiwani town on the Rohtak-Bhiwani Road. A small village, named Naurangabad is, now, situated close to a chain

1. T. A. Griffith, *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, p. 319, Chapt. VII., foot note 9.
2. V. S. Agarwala, *Pāṇini Kālīna Bhāratavarsha*, p. 39.
3. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 267, class 2 (a), Pl. XXXIX. 2.
4. V. A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 170.
5. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 121.

of mounds which stand pretty higher than the surrounding fields.

After the summer rains of 1964 from deep cuts in some of the mounds the local village school boys had picked up a few copper coins as well as some hard pieces of baked grey and brown clay objects. They kindly delivered this collection of antiquities to me. At first sight the clay objects appeared to be portions of seals and sealings; but on closer examination turned out to be pieces of baked clay-moulds with which the Yaudheya mint-masters coined money in the first century B. C. On one of the largest pieces of broken moulds of brown clay the upper portion of the coin-legend in Brahmi script, *Yaudheyan(ām)*, and underneath it the portrait of a humped bull with prominent horns standing to right are engraved. An impression of this coin-mould engravings on plaster of Paris brought out a beautiful and clear picture of the legend and the bull.

Thus a minute study of the coin-mould led me to the conclusion that like khokrakot (ancient Rohitaka), adjacent to the Rohtak town, most probably, was a mint-town of the Yaudheyas in the first century B.C. The copper coins found along with the pieces of moulds are not in good condition due to corrosion. After cleaning them it was found that one of them is a large size elephant-rider type copper coin of Huvishka, son of Kanishka, the great Kushāṇa, while the rest are the Yaudheya coins.

The two other mints of the Yaudheyas already known to scholars of Indian History and Numismatics are Khokrakot (Rohtak), and Sunet[1] (near Ludhiana). The third mint was at Naurangabad (near Bhiwani) referred to above. This is about thirty miles west of Rohtak (now in the Hissar district of the Punjab).

The cities of Rohitaka and Sunetra were of considerable importance in ancient times. These are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and by Paṇinī respectively. The scholars of Sanskrit literature and ancient Indian History and culture will do well to find out references to important ancient places in the region lying between the rivers, Jamuna and the Sutlej.

1. In 1936, Dr. Birbal Sahni discovered a large number of Yaudheya coin-moulds (*Bahudhañke* type) of the first Century B.C. at Khokrakot. Coins of Indo Greeks, Śakas and Kushāṇas were also found at Khokrakot.
2. Cunningham, the first Director General of Archaeology in India, had discovered innumerable Yaudheya coin-moulds, seals and coins of different ages and dynasties at Sunet during his first Archaeological Survey of Northern India.

In connection with my *History of the Haryana People* I travelled all over this region and noticed about a dozen and a half important sites of ruined and deserted old cities. Various objects of antiquity e.g. coins, seals, sealings, coin-moulds large ancient bricks and plenty of Brahmanical sculptures are found at those sites. Digging for bricks and hidden treasures is common.

Khokrakot and Aurangabad under study were probably destroyed by the Kushāṇas[1], or *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman of Saurashtra[2] in the second century A.D.

U. S. RAO

5

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE AUDUMBARA COINAGE

In my paper entitled 'Some Observations on Audumbara Coinage' published in this *Journal* earlier[3] I have tried to show that the ascription of coins bearing the names of Mahādeva, Rudravarman, Ajamitra (Āryamitra, Bhānumitra and Vīrayaśas to the Audumbara series is untenable and that in the present state of our knowledge only three kings, viz. Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, should be ragarded as Audumbara chiefs. Subsequent to the publication of that article, I further pondered over the question as a result of which some new points have emerged which lend support to the views expressed by me. In this note I intend to place these points before the scholars.

My conclusion that Mahādeva and other rulers did not belong to the Audumbara ruling family was mainly based on a comparative study of the legends and coin types. A close study of the coins of these kings and of those of the Audumbara chiefs reveals significant religious associations which have an important bearing in deciding the question at issue. The Audumbara chiefs Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, and Dharaghosha bear the style *Mahādeva* in addition to the usual regal title *rājan* in the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī legends respectively on the obverse and reverse of their copper coins. The Audumbaras must have issued silver coins also. But so far only two silver coins of Dharaghosha alone have come to light. The obverse and reverse legends of these coins also contain the title *Mahādeva*. The significance of this style has never been satisfactorily

1. Coins of the periods following that of the Kushaṇas (Huvishka) were not yet found at Khokrakot.
2. See Junagarh inscription of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman of his seventy-second year corresponding to 150 A.D. wherein he records his annihilation of the Yaudhayas, the bravest of the Kshatriyas.
3. *JNSI*, XXVI, Part II, pp. 157-161.

explained by any scholar so far, though these coins have been studied by celebrated numismatists like Cunningham, J. Allan, E. J. Rapson, R. D. Banerji and others. It appears to be a Prākṛitised form of the Sanskrit word *Mahādeva*, meaning 'a devotee of Mahādeva, i. e. Śiva.[1] In this respect it is comparable to the sectarian styles like *Māheśvara*, 'a devotee of Maheśvara', and *Bhāgavata*, 'a devotee of Bhagavat, i. e. Vishṇu. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Śaivite sectarian titles *devavrata*[2] and *Māheśvara*[3] occur on the coins of the Indo-parthian king Gondophares and the Kushāṇa emperor Wema Kadphises respectively which belong to the first century of the Christian era. So far these are supposed to be the earliest instances of the use of the Śaivite sectarian titles. Our interpretation of the legends on the Audumbara coins carries back the antiquity of their usage to *cir.* 100 B. C. The Vaishṇava sectarian title *Bhāgavata* is met with in the epigraphic records dating from the second century B. C. onward. It would thus appear that both the Śaivite and Vaishṇava sectarian titles came into vogue at about the same time.

That the Audumbaras had actually Śaivite leanings is evident also from the reverse devices of their copper coins. There has been a difference of opinion on the identification of

1. Allan regards *mahādeva* as a regal title, vide his *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, Introduction, p. lxxxiii. K. P. Jayaswal explains it as 'His Exalted Majesty', see his *Hindu Polity* (2nd ed.), p. 159. None of these interpretations appear to be correct. According to D. C. Sircar (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, 2nd ed., 1953, p. 161, fn. 4), the earliest Audumbara coins were issued in the name of the god Mahādeva or Śiva and bear the Prākrit legend indicating *bhagavato mahādevasya rājarājasya.* But we beg to differ from Sircar. Firstly, the words *bhagavata* and *rājarāja* occur on the silver coins of Mahādeva, who, as we have shown, cannot be regarded as an Audumbara chief. These words are conspicuous by their absence on the coins of kings Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, who certainly belonged to the Audumbara ruling family. Secondly, as pointed out by Allan *bhagavata* presumably stands for the Vishṇuite sectarian title *bhāgavata,* which is met with pretty early in inscriptions. Moreover, the legend on a copper coin of Mahādeva published by Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 112) undoubtedly gives the form *bhāgavata.* But even if Sircars' view is accepted, our view that Audumbaras were Śaivas and that Mahādeva, who was a *bhāgavata*, cannot be regarded as an Audumbara chief is not affected in the least.
2. Gardner (*BMC*, Indo-Greeks, etc., p. lxxxiii), however, gives the reading *devatratasa* and renders it by 'protected by gods (gen.)'. For *deva-vrata* as a Śaivite sectarian title see V. S. Pathak's *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 21.
3. Gardner (*op. cit*, p. lxxiv) renders the word *mahiśvara* in the coin legend by 'great prince'. According to Whitehead (*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, I, p. 174), 'Mahiśvara is the name of Śiva, so perhaps Vima Kadphises claimed to be an incarnation of the Indian destroying deity'. Mahiśvara evidently stands for Māheśvara. Alternatively, it may also stand for *mahīśvara*, i. e. the lord of the earth. But it is not very probable.

the structure depicted on the reverse. Cunningham took it to be a 'pointed-roofed temple of two or three storeys, with pillars'.[1] R. D. Banerji held a similar view.[2] J. Allan described it as a 'two-storeyed domed *stūpa*'.[3] K. P. Jayaswal thought that it represented the mote-hall of the Audumbaras or some other public building.[4] S. V. Sohoni drew our attention to a passage from Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* indicating that usually outside the temple there were weapons (*praharaṇas*) or banner (*dhvaja*) announcing the name of the deity worshipped inside[5] and suggested that the building in question is a Śaiva temple of the type which is still common in the Kulu and Beas valleys.[6] Sohoni's view appears to receive confirmation from the fact that alongside the building there appear a trident and battle-axe and a *dhvaja* on right in the field. No doubt, trident as *tri-ratna* was sacred to the Buddhists also. But when it is interpreted in the light of the obverse and reverse legends which describe the Audumbara chiefs as worshippers of Mahādeva, its Śaivite character can no longer be doubted.

Thus, the Audumbara chiefs were Śaivas. King Mahādeva, on the other hand, was a *Bhāgavata* or Vaishṇava as is clear from his silver coins, two specimens of which are known so far. The reading of the title *Bhāgavata* there is beyond doubt.[7] I have already shown that the copper coins with the legend *mahadevasa raña Odu(ṁ)barisa* are actually Audumbara coins with imperfect legend wherein the name of the ruling chief is missing.[8] Thus, the religious import of the obverse and reverse devices and the religious titles found in the coin legends all go to prove that Mahādeva who issued coins cannot be regarded as an Audumbara chief.

Another interesting point about the Audumbara coinage is the obverse device of the silver coins of Dharaghosha. Here we see a bearded male deity standing to front with right hand raised to head, and leopard's skin over left arm. As pointed out by Cunningham, this figure is similar to that of

1. *Coins of Ancient India* (reprinted by Indological Book House, Varanasi), p. 68.
2. A New Type of Audumbara Coins, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 247-250.
3. Allan, op. cit., p. lxxxiii.
4. *Hindu Polity*, p. 159.
5. *Kasya nu khalu daivatasya sthānaṁ bhavishyati ? Neha kiñchit praharaṇaṁ dhvajo vā bahiśchihnaṁ dṛiśyate ; bhavatu praviśya jñāsye.*
6. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 54-57.
7. As noted above, the title *bhāgavata* including the length of the medial in *bhā* is quite clear on a copper coin of Mahādeva published by Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 112.
8. *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 157-161.

Herakles crowning himself found on Indo-Greek coins.[1] In the accompanying Kharoshṭhī legend the figure is called Viśpamitra. But Cunningham, evidently unaware of the relationship between the Audumbaras and the sage Viśvāmitra, described the figure as that of Śiva.[2] Allan, of course, correctly regarded the figure as that of the homonymous sage, but observed that 'Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown'.[3] This mystery has of late been solved by Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta who drew our attention to a story in the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* according to which Gādhi's wife had to embrace the fig tree (*udumbara*) in order to give birth to Viśvāmitra.[4] But the *Kālikā-purāṇa* is a late text, being assigned to the period from the seventh to the tenth century A.D. The present writer has shown elsewhere[5] that the antiquity of this legend can be traced back to a much earlier date as it is found at three different places in the *Mahābhārata*,[6] which in its present form cannot be later than the third or fourth century A.D.,[7] and the nucleus of which goes back to a very early date. It would thus appear that the figure of Viśvāmitra appears on the Audumbara coins because tradition had established a connection between that sage and the Audumbaras. K. P. Jayaswal thought that Viśvāmitra was probably their national hero.

Cunningham had doubtfully described the tree occurring on the reverse of Dharaghosha's silver coins and on the obverse of the Audumbara copper coins as *udumbara* or fig tree.[9] It is true that the tree within railing is a common motif on Indian coins. But in view of the traditional connection between the birth of the sage Viśvāmitra, whom the Audumbaras evidently regarded as their ancestor, and the fig tree. alluded to in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*. Cunningham's supposition may not be improbable.

A. M. SHASTRI

1. Cunningham, op. cit, p. 67.
2. Ibid.
3. *BMC, Ancient India,* Introduction, p. lxxxiv.
4. The Purāṇas on the Audumbaras, *Purāṇa,* VII, Pt. 1, pp. 186-190.
5. Vide my article 'Mahābhārata on the Connection between Viśvamitra and the Audumbaras', to be published in theJuly 1965 issue of *Purāṇa.*
6. Vide *Mahābhārata* (Gita Press ed.), Vanaparva, CXV. 20-50; Śāntiparva, XLIX, 6-30 ; Anuśāsanaparva, XIV.
7. For a detailed discussion of this question see Wtnternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* I, pp. 465f.
8. *Hindu Polity,* p. 159.
9. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 68.

6

AN UNIQUE SATAVAHANA COIN OF SATA MEGHAVASTHI :

[PL, II]

It is now generally accepted that after the death of Asoka, about 232 B. C. the Satavahana or the Andhra Kings of the Deccan became independent. From 2nd century B. C. or late 3rd century B. C. to the end of 2nd century A. D. or a little later they seem to have been the masters of the territory from Vindhyas to the Pennar. Now and then, once in the early period and a second time in later days these rulers expanded in all directions upto Allahabad in the North Ujjain in the West and even Magadha in the North East. In the middle period they might have suffered an eclipse being pushed down South from even the North Deccan by the Kshataratas and the Kshatrapas.

The *Puranas* give lists of 30 Kings of this dynasty and a total rule of about 435 years. Modern research, especially Numismatics is day by day revealing the names of innumerable Kings of this dynasty very many of whom have been easily identified with those in the Puranic lists. While from the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni, No. 22 of the Puranic list and a ruler probably of the early 2nd century A. D., lots of coins have been found and it is easy to identify most of the rulers, difficulties arise about the earliest Kings and those who came in the middle.

Though the *Purāṇas* speak of Sisuka, as he is called in the Nanaghat Inscription as the founder and Krishna as the next King, a number of coins of a ruler by name Satavahana have been found. These Kings have yet to be placed satisfactorily. While Mirashi's view is that King Satavahana (a number of whose coins he has published was the founder of the line, recent discoveries, (vide *JNSI*, XXII page 138 to 145) indicate that there might have been a number of Kings with the name Satavahana and their dates might range from 3rd century to Ist century B. C. Sisuka's and Krishna's coins have not yet been found. A very early Satakarni is indicated as third in the Puranic list and his coins also have been identified but not beyond doubt as there are innumerable Satakarnis ; after the third there is a 6th even in the early part of the list apart from others down below.

Between Satakarni I and Gautamiputra Satakarni a number of Kings are mentioned in the Puranic list. Coins of

4 Kings only viz. those of Apilaka, Meghavasthi, Satakarni I and Hala have been identified, some doubtfully on vague similarities. For example in one coin (Item 27 of Rama Rao's *List of published Satavahana Coins*) in the obverse the inscription is *tisa*; on the reverse *Sala*; in item 28 (ibid) the obverse inscription is *Sātisa*. These two coins are attributed to King Hala by Mirashi. Dinkar Rao however attributes them to Pulumavi I, 15th in the Puranic list (*JNSI*, XXII. pages 146 to 149.)

The coin of Meghavasthi (item 22 ibid) is still more dubious. This has been published by Rapson (*BMC, AWK*, p. 28, Pl, V G. P. 5). On the obverse there is a symbol of a horse facing right and there is an inscription *Gha Sadasa*. Reverse seems to be blurred. *Gha Sadasa* has apparently been taken as *Sada Megha*.

Recently when I was going through my coin cabinet I discovered a rectangular copper coin of *Sata Meghasa*. Luckily this is in fairly good condition and one could read all the inscriptions and symbols on both sides. I am describing the coin below :—

Material : Copper.

Shape : Rectangular (22X16 m.m.).

Thickness : Slightly less than 3 mm.

Weight : 8 grammes (123 grains).

Obverse : Lower portion elephant with upraised trunk walking right; on its back three symbols with the *Swastika* in the centre; the small device to the left indistinct; the one to the right with the head, 2 legs and 2 arms and torso looks like a homo or frog or double *ya*. Legend of five letters above the symbols, from left to right in a slightly curved line. *Ha Ta Me Ka Sa*, the last *Sa* being a little blurred.

Reverse : A big Ujjain symbol to the left of the coin; each orb of which contains a pellet within two circles; the fourth orb except a very small portion being off the flan; between the upper two orbs the frog-like or *ya* figure; between the two lower orbs a symbol now indistinct. A legend, now faint starting at IV and going up can be traced; *Ma* and *Tha* appear somewhat clear; other letters are indistinct. **(Pl. II. 7).**

This coin was procured by me at Hyderabad in 1959 when I was A. G. there, along with other Satavahana coins. Its location can therefore be taken to be near about Hyderabad.

Its metal, copper, rectangular size, elephant and Ujjain symbols with Swastika and the old look of the coin definitely point to the earliar Satavahana types ; viz. those of Satavahana and Satakarni I of 2nd and Ist century B. C.

The clear inscription above the elephant can easily be read as *Ha Ta Me Ka Sa*, The coin belongs to a King whose name was Hata Meghasa or Sata Meghasa.

The most interesting and remarkable thing is the nature of of the script in which some of the letters of the legend are inscribed. There are five letters in all above the elephant. The first *Ha* has too much of a curved loop on the right. The upper straight limb is rather short. The second letter *tha* is cursive on the lower portion looking like a crescent. Its straight upper line is not visible. This is the type used in Nasik inscriptions of these Kings. The third letter *ma* or *me* is the most remarkable one. It is undoubtedly of the Battiprolu type. (vide Plate-IV of Ojha's Palaeography) and looks like 𑀫. Similary the next letter *ka* is of the same type. There is nothing to comment on the next letter *Sa* which is the usual type.

Now the Brahmi of the Bhattiprolu Stupa as is well known is somewhat different in some letters from the Asokan Brahmi. It is probably of the 2nd century B. C. Ojha calls it the Dravida Lipi derived probably from an older type of Brahmi of 500 or 600 B.C. from which Asokan and this type of the scripts evolved. Later the Asokan type generally prevailed.

If my reading is correct (I feel certain about it) some interesting conclusions follow. This coin belongs to the 1st century B. C. if not to the 2nd century B. C. The king who issued it had command over the coastal areas of the Andhra Districts especially the Krishna valley and the delta as Bhattiprolu is in this area. In the South the Bhattiprolu script was apparently popular.

Can we identify this Sata Meghasa? The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions the 9th King next to Apilaka as Sanga or Meghavasthi and gives him a rule of 18 years. It mentions the next King also as Satakarni or Meghvasthi both with 18 years. Probably both were one and the same. In *Vishṇu Purāṇa* the name of the 8th ruler is mentioned as Meghavasthi. In *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* next to Apilaka there is a Sandasa with 18 years of reign.

Consequently we can deduce that the 9th King was Sata Meghasa. Giving an average of 15 years for each King, this Sata Meghasa must have reigned 120 years after the foundation of the dynasty. If we put the origin of this dynasty at about 230 B. C. this Sata Meghasa must have been ruling about 110 B. C. This agrees with palaeography especially the letters of the Bhattiprolu variety and the ancient type of coin. I think we can confidently identify this coin as that of the Puranic Sata karni Meghaswathi.

Incidentally the coin indicates through its Southern Brahmi letters that Satavahana dominions in thd 2nd cenrury B. C. included the Krishna Valley and probably came down to the Pennar line.

The coin in my possession is a better one of Meghavasthi than that of Rapson and is an unique fiind.

S. RAMAYYA

7

SOME MORE KSHATRAPA COINS FROM VIDARBHA [Pl. VII-IX]

In Volumes XXII and XXIII of this *Journal* I have published some silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas found in Vidarbha. Recently I had been to Basim (ancient Vatsagulma) where Mr. Narayanrao Dhanagare, Advocate of Basim, gave me three coins, which appear to be important, each in its own way, for the history of the Western Kshatraps. I therefore publish them here with the kind permission of Mr. Dhanagare.

I. A Coin of *Mahākshatrapa* Bhartṛidāman : Year 230 (?) Findspot—Basim (Vatsagulma) ; Weight : 2.55 grammes., Size : 1.4 cm.

Obv. : Bust of King to right, with symbols of date behind the ear. The first of these is undoubtedly 200, the second, which is somewhat indistinct, appears to be 30.

Rev. : Hill of three arches, with the crescent on the top and a star to the right ; below a wavy line ; round the edge inside a border of beads the legend, commencing at 1—*Rajño Mahakshatrapa Rudra-sena-putrasa rajño* [*Mahakshatrapasa*] *Bhartṛidamnaḥ*.

(Pl. VII. Ia & Ib).

Bhartṛidāman is supposed to have closed his reign in *circa* Śaka 217. But the symbols of the present coin appear to denote a date like Ś. 230. The second symbol is rather indistinct. So we cannot be sure on this point.

II. A Coin of *Mahākshatrapa* Viśvasena : No date. Find-spot—Basim ; Weight 1.9 grammes ; Size : 1.4 cm.

Obv. : Bust of King to right with some indistinct letters in front. No space for any date behind the ear.

Rev. : Hill of three arches with the crescent at the top and an indistinct star to right. Legend round the edge inside a border of beads commencing at iii : [*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Bhartṛidama*] *putrasa rajño Mahakshatrapasa Viśva*—.

(Pl. VIII. Ia & Ib).

Viśvasena was a son of *Mahākshatrapa* Bhartṛidāman. Till now only the coins issued by him as *Kshatrapa* were known. The present coin clearly states his title *Mahākshatrapa* and is thus unique. He ruled as *Mahākshatrapa* from some time before he was overthrown by Rudrasiṁha II, the founder of the second line of the Western Kshatrapas. Unfortunately, the present coin does not show any date as the king's ear is just at the left edge of the coin.

III. A Coin of *Kshatrapa* Rudrasena III : Year 27(x). Find-spot : Basim ; Weight : 2.40 grammes ; Size : 1.4 cm.

Obv. : Bust of King to right, with symbols of date behind the ear. The first symbol denotes 200. This was followed by two symbols, the first of which may have been 70, but the last one is uncertain.

Rev. : Hill of three arches, with the star to right, but no crescent on the top of the hill, probably because the subscript letter *va* of *svā* takes its place ; round the edge inside the border of beads the legend commencing at xi : [*Svami-Rudra*]*dama-putrasa rajña Kshatrapasa Rudra*[*senasa*.]

(Pl. IX. Ia & Ib).

This Rudrasena is Rudrasena III, the son of Rudradāman II. On his other coins discovered till now he gives the title *Mahākshatrapa* to his father and also prefixes the same to his own name. On this coin, however, he gives no title at all to his father and assumes himself only the lower title *Kshatrapa*.

Rudradaman II therefore, like Rudrasiṁha, seems to have been the progenitor of a new line of Kshatrapas. The present coin seems to be the earliest struck by his son, who may have been the first Kshatrapa of this line who came to the throne.

In my previous articles on the Kshatrapa coins found in Vidarbha I published the coins of the Kshatrapas from Vijayasena to Rudrasiṁha II. The present series carries the line of the Kshatrapas to the time of Rudrasena III, who flourished in the period 348 to 378 A. D. This period fell in the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīshena I, who is described in the Vākāṭaka land-grants as 'having a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years'. The finds of Kshatrapa coins do not therefore indicate that any parts of Vidarbha were under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas. As the Vākāṭakas had no coinage of their own, they appear to have allowed the circulation of Kshatrapa coins in their kingdom. Later, the coins of the Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja, which resembled the Kshatrapa coins in fabric, continud' in circulation in Vidarbha even after the country was conquered by the Early Chālukyas and was given by them in charge of their Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatories.

V. V. MIRASHI

8

A FIND OF KSHATRAPA COINS FROM DEVA IN GUJARAT

The extensive area of Gujarāt proper, i.e, the state of Gujarat minus Saurashtra and Kutch has not so far proved as rich in the finds of the coins of the Western Kshatrapas as its adjacent areas. They have been reported in published accounts only from Pālanapur (Rapson, E. J., *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapa, the Traikutaka Dyuasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, London, 1908, p. 145), Baroda (Gadre, A. S., *JNSI*, 1, p. 20), Ankoṭā (Trivedi, H. V., *JNSI*, XV, p. 77-8), Shāmlāji (Chowdhary, S. N., *JOI, Baroda*, IX, 4, p. 453-9) and Virol-Sojitrā (Pandya, A. V., J. Gujarat R. S., XXIII, p. 276-82). A recent discovery of these coins from Devā (22°36′ N. and 72°41′ E.), a village (pop. 5268) in the Peṭlād taluka of the Kheḍā or Kaira district, in Gujarat, lying on the Naḍiād-Peṭlād-Bhādraṇ N. G. Branch of Western Railway ten kms. north of Virol-Sojitra, has added to this list.

The local legend, traces of old brick (35 × 20 × 7 cms.) foundations, etc., suggest the antiquity of the village going back to pre-Muslim times. It may well have been the village

of Devapallī lying in the Nagaraka (now called Nagarā, twenty kms. south of Devā and six kms. from Cambay: it was the main seaport at the head of the Gulf of Cambay before the rise of Cambay in c. 8th century A. D., and was called Mahinagara: Recent excavations here by M. S. University of Baroda have also yielded the Kshatrapa coins) *pathaka* of the Kheṭaka (present Kheḍa or Kaira) *ahāra* mentioned in the Kaira Grant of the Maitraka ruler Śilāditya III of Valabhī (Burn, A., *JBBAS*, VII, p. 968) dated V. E. 365 (A.D. 684).

In the course of a digging in the compound of the primary school at Deva, a small earthern vessel containing some old coins was found casually. Shri Ratilal B. Bhavsar, Head Master of the school, sent two pieces to the Vice-Chancellor of Sardar Vallabhabhai University (Vallabh Vidyanagar), Shri Ishwarbhai J. Patel for my examination. Meanwhile, the other coins were handed over to the State authorities. Through the co-operation of Shri Ratilal B. Bhavsar and P. D. Bhatt Medical Officer of the hospital at Vallabh Vidyanagar, I obtained seven more coins for study.

All the above nine coins from Deva are in silver. They belong to the Karddamaka Kshatrapas. Their state of preservation is poor. However, the legends in Brāhmī are decipherable. The size, weight and other details of the coins confirm to those of their class, so familiar to us. Dates are defaced.

Out of the nine coins, two belong to Rudradāman I. They bear the legend :—

Rājño Kshatrapasa Jayadāma-putrasa rājño Mahāksatrapa Rudradāmasa.

Two are of Rudrasena I :—

Rājño mahākshatrapa Rudrasenasa.

Five belong to Vijayasena :—

Rājño Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena putrāsa rājño Mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.

The discovery has a two-fold importance. Firstly, it has yielded the coins of Vijayasena for the first time in Gujarat proper and ; secondly, it carries back the antiquity of the Village Devā to about the beginning of the Christian Era, placing it in line with Shamlāji, Ankota and Nagarā in General Gujarat.

A. V. PANDYA

9

A RARE CLAY SEALING FROM SUNET

The village of Sunet, locally known as Uchchapind is situated on the Ludhiana Ferozepur road at a distance of about 3 miles from Ludhiana, the headquarters of the District of the same name, in the Panjab. The extensive mound at Sunet has yielded a number of coins and seals belonging to the period beginning with the Indo-Greeks and ending with the advent of the Hūṇas. The copper coins, coin-moulds and clay-sealings of the Yaudheyas, have been found in large quantities. Sealings of private individuals with beautiful emblems have also come to light. The present sealing is however of unusual interest. It was brought to my notice by Shri G. B. Sharma of I. A. F., Ambala, and I am thankful to him for permitting me to publish it.

This sealing is like so many others of baked clay and of reddish brown colour. It is oval in shape and has a border of a single line. There is no emblem. Its diameter is .74 inches.

The writing consists of a single line. The characters belong to the Northern variety of Brāhmī of the fourth century A. D. The legend reads as follows :

Śrī-r-Guptasya

(This seal) belongs to Mr. Gupta.

In the absence of any royal titles, this cannot be definitely attributed to Mahārāja Gupta—the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Still it is of considerable interest in as much as it provides the only known instance—other than that of the name of the founder of the Gupta dynasty—of the use of the word Gupta as full name. The students of Gupta history are familiar with the controversy regarding the correct from of the name of the first Gupta king. While, Lassen, Bühler, Fleet, and Allan held that it was Gupta, V. A. Smith had argued that it should be Śrī-gupta. He advanced the following arguments :

1. The past participle formation *Gupta* meaning protected can hardly stand for a proper name.
2. The Chinese pilgrim Itsing, speaks of a king Chi-li-ki-to i. e. Śrīgupta, who flourished five hundred years before his time.

1. *IA*, X, p. 110.

3. Śrī-gupta gives a perfectly good sense viz. Protected by Lakshmī.

Fleet clearly established that the name is Gupta. He pointed out that Srī is only used as an honorific with the name wherever it occurs in the Gupta inscriptions. Had the proper name been Śrī-gupta it would have been preceded by another Śrī. Inspite of Fleet's forceful reasoning, R. D. Bannerji preferred to call the first Gupta monarch as Śrī-Gupta.[1]

The credit of pointing out for the first time a clear instance of the use of the word Gupta alone as a proper name goes to B. Ch. Chhabra, who quotes its use in the *Vishṇusahasranāma* as a synonym for Vishṇu.[2] The present seal furnishes another instance and thus confirms the view of Lassen, Bühler, Fleet, Allan and Chhabra.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

10

SUVARṆA IN KĀLIDĀSA'S MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRA

References to coins in Kālidāsa's writings are rare, and the few references that can be traced in his works are rather general and vague and do not yield any important information. Thus the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* speaks of the counting of wealth,[3] evidently in the form of coins which are not specifically named. *Raghuvaṁśa*, V. 21 states that Kautsa was asked by his *guru* to pay him wealth counting fourteen crores by way of *gurudakshiṇa*.[4] The reference here is also evidently to the coins, but of what denomination we do not know. As against these vague references, it is interesting to note that the *Mālavikāgnimitram* makes a specific mention of a coin denomination in gold. At the beginning of Act V of this play we come across an interesting dialogue between Udyānapālikā and Sārasika in the course of which it is stated that ever since the queen heard that prince Vasumitra was appointed for the protection of the sacrificial horse of the Senāpati (i. e. Pushyamitra, who retained the title of *senāpati* even after he had seized power after deposing and killing the last Mauryan emperor Bṛihadratha), she used to bestow upon worthy recipients *dakshiṇā* amounting to eighteen

1. cf. *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 9.
2. *JNSI*, IX, (1947), pp. 137-139.
3. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 266.
4. *Nirbandha-sañjāta-rush-ārtha skārśyam achintayitvā guruṇ-āham uktaḥ |*
Vittasya vidyā-parisankhyayā me koṭīs chatasro daśa chāhareti ||
Cf. also *Raghu*, V. 32, which refers to the wealth given away by Raghu being conveyed on hundreds of camels and mules.

Suvarṇas daily with a view to securing long life for him.[1] The *Suvarṇa* in this passage must be taken to refer to the monetary denomination of that name, and not gold pieces of a fixed weight. According to Manu (VIII. 134) *Suvarṇa* is a gold coin weighing 10 *rattis* or about 194 grains—*Pañcha-krishṇalaka-māshas te suvarṇas to shoḍaśa.*

In an interesting note on 'Coins in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram' published in *JNSI*, XXVI, Part I, pp. 101-102, Shri S. C. Ray has, on the basis of the above-mentioned reference to *Suvarṇa* contained in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, drawn certain important conclusions regarding the date of Kālidāsa. Shri Ray points out that "the earliest monetary issues of gold go back to the days of the Kushāṇa king Kadphises II and not to a period earlier than that." And "if gold coins were not in circulation in a period earlier than that of the Kushāṇas, Pushyamitra Śuṅga or his son could not have witnessed the use of gold coins, as referred to in the *Mālavikāganimitram*". Shri Ray, therefore, holds that "the reference to the use of gold coins in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* tends to show that Kālidāsa could not be a contemporary of Agnimitra,...but that he flourished in a later period, anywhere in between the date of Ksdphises II and Pulakeśin II."

While the date assigned to Kālidāsa by Ray is now generally accepted by scholars, the evidence adduced by him in support of his view is, to say the least, defective and quite untenable. Firstly,[2] the earliest monetary issues of gold were not those struck by the Kushāṇa emperor Kadphises II. Prior to the Kushāṇas, gold coins issued by some of the Indo-Greek rulers had been in circulation in North-Western India. Secondly, archaeological evidence can be regarded as the sole source of information for a particular period only in the total absence of any other evidence. But for a period for which literary sources are available, archaeological evidence should be treated as supplementary only. Moreover, the archaeological evidence

1. *Yataḥ prabhriti senāpati-yajña-turaṅga-rakshaṇe niyuko bhartri-dārako Vasumitras tataḥ prabhriti tasy-āyur-nimittam ashṭādaśa-suvarṇa-parimāṇāṁ dakshiṇāṁ devī dakshiṇīyaiḥ parigrāhayati.*
Another variant reading is *nishka-śata-suvarṇa-parimāṇāṁ*. This variant is given in the *Kālidāsa-granthāvali* and in C. H. Tawney's edition with English translation (ed. Reva Prasad Dviwedi, Indological Book House, 1964), p. 126, but in the translation the other reading, vix. *ashṭādaśa-suvarṇa-parimāṇām*, is followed. If the former reading is correct, we have a reference to the gold coin called *Nishka* also. The statement of Dr. Bhagawat Sharan Upadhyaya *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 266, fn. 1) that *Nishka* as a coin is named in *Kumārasambhava*, 11·49, is incorrect, for the context there shows that the word *nishka* there stands for a necklace.

2. As pointed out in the Editorial Note in *JNSI*, XXVI, Pt. 1, p. 101 fn.

cited by Ray may at best be regarded as *argumentum ex silentio* ; it is just possible that pre-Kushāṇa or even pre-Indo-Greek gold coins still lie buried underground awaiting the spade of an archaeologist who may happen to come across them one day. This negative evidence could have some weight only if no other evidence were forthcoming. But there is an overwhelming literary evidence of a definitely pre-Christian date which proves the use of gold coins in India from a very hoary antiquity. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that even the earliest stratum of Indian literature, i. e. Vedic, contains references to the use of more than one denomination of gold coins.[1] Pāṇini 5th Cent. B. C.) was also aquainted with the use of gold coins for commercial purposes.[2] The *Jātakas*, which are by general consensus taken to represent pre-Buddhistic socio-economic conditions of India, make mention of at least three denominations of gold coins, viz. *nishka, suvarṇa* and *suvarṇa-māsha.*[3] Does Ray believe that these works belong to post-Kushāṇa period or that references to gold coins found there in have been fabricated in later times ?

To sum up gold coins were current in India long before the Śuṅga period, and even if Kālidāsa is supposed to have flourished in the Suṅga age, he could have well referred to their use. But Kālidāsa can be placed in the Gupta period on independent grounds, and the numismatic evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* cited by Ray has no bearing whatsoever on the question of his date.[4]

AJAYA MITRA SHASTRI.

1. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 54ff.
2. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, (2nd ed.), pp. 259 ff; *JNSI*, XV, pp. 27 ff.
3. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47ff.
4. The statement of Ray that 'the earliest epigraphic reference to gold coins comes only from inscriptions of the post-Kushāṇa period' is quite inaccurate. The Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna, dated year 42 (=120 A.D.), mentions not the coins of gold in general, but the very denomination of *Suvarṇa*. It further supplies the interesting information that two thousand *Suvarṇas* were equal in value to seventy thousand *Kārshāpaṇas*, the ratio of value between the two coins being 35 : 1, vide D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 159, text line 5. *Kārshāpāṇa* here certainly denotes Nahapāna's silver coins weighing about 36 grains, while *Suvarṇa* appears to have been used for the gold coins of the Kushāṇas, which were struck to the weight standard of the Roman Denarius, viz. about 124 grains ; thus, one Kushāṇa gold coin was equal to thirtyfive silver coins of Nahapāna.

11

ON JISHṆU—A KING OF MALWA

The coins of Jishṇu-a local king of Malwa mostly collected from Ujjayini, Bhilsa and the round about region were published by S. C. Upadhyaya, P. L. Gupta, and H. V. Trivedi in some earlier issues of this *Journal*.[1] The said scholars have mostly concerned themselves with the numismatic aspects of the coins ignoring their historical implications. We propose to make some such observations here.

It is fairly well known that Samudragupta overpowered the petty kings and states of this region including the descendents of Śaka Śridharvarman. It was thus quite natural for the vanquished Kings of that region to rise united in confederation against the Guptas. It is also known that after the death of Samudragupta his son Chandragupta II fought against at least one such confederation of Kings in Bengal. The region of Malwa was quite a spot of trouble for the Guptas, and thus it is not quite unnatural that Jishṇu as well organised the Kings of the locality and possibly headed their confederacy sometime after Samudragupta.

Jishṇu cannot be placed chronologically after Yasodharman as suggested by P. L. Gupta, because after Yasodharman there were feuds among the North Indian powers for supremacy. The Later Guptas and the Maukharis were in power in parts of Malwa[2]. Thus we have practically no place for Jishṇu in post Yasodharman Malwa. The view of P. L. Gupta has already been controverted by Altekar[3]. And there is no need to identify Jishṇu of Punjab, who was a much later King, with the homonymous king of Malwa.

Thus in all probability Jishṇu of Malwa coins should be placed soon after Samudragupta. The coins of Jishṇu of Malwa typologically and palæographically seem to confirm our suggestion. Jishṇu, was probably a Kinsman of Rāmagupta-also a local king of Malwa who had accepted the suzerainty of the Guptas and probably with help of the Sakas defeated and killed him. Consequently, Chandragupta II, who was on the throne of Magadha, by now, hastened to control the situation and was probably successful in defeating Jishṇu and his allies soon. The scarcity of the types and varieties of the coins of Jishṇu also suggest that probably his reign was not a long one.

P. K. JAYASWAL

1. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 150-51; Ibid, p. 192 ; Ibid, XV, pp. 89ff; Ibid, XVI, p. 192.
2. *Harshacharita*, p. 119, (Varanasi, 1961).
3. *JNSI*, XV, I, pp. 92-93.

12

VAIVASVATA OF THE HARAHĀ INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN

Verse 3 of Īśānavarman's Harahā Inscription reads as follows :—

Suta-śataṁ lebhe nripo'śvapatir-vVaivasvatād-guṇoditam |
tat-prasūtā durita-vritti-rudho Mukharāḥ kshitiśāḥ kshatārayaḥ ||

It has been translated to mean :—

"The Mukhara princes, who have vanquished their foes and checked the course of evil, are the descendants of the hundred sons, whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata (Manu), and who were conspicuous on account of their excellences." Further the editor of the record in the *Epigraphia Indica* remarks that Vaivasvata mentioned here is "the seventh Manu supposed to be born of the Sun and to preside over present age[1]."

As this view still finds acceptance in some quarters and it is argued on its basis that the Maukharis were Sūryavaṁśins (see *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 44-45), it may be well to point out that Vaivasvata of the Harahā Inscription is not Vaivasvata Manu but Yama, the son of Vivasvān,[2] who granted Sāvitrī the boon of a hundred sons for her father Aśvapati. The error in the translation quoted above was pointed out many years ago by H. C. Raychaudhuri who remarked in this connection :—

"The reference is undoubtedly to the hundred sons that Aśvapati obtained as a boon from Yama on the intercession of his daughter, Sāvitrī. It is surprising that some writers still identify the Vaivasvata of the Maukhari record with Manu[3]."

DASHARATH SHARMA

13

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF HARSHA

[Pl. X.]

Harshavardhana of Thāneśvar and Kanauj is known to have issued some silver coins of the Madhyadeśa-type of the Gupta silver coinage. A hoard of these coins was discovered at

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 111.
2. For a fairly early use of Vivasvān for Yama see the *Kathopanisad*, I, 1. 7 :—
   Vaiśvānaraḥ praviśatyatithir-Brāhmaṇo gṛhān |
   kasyaita˘śāntiṁ kurvanti hara Vaivasvatodakam ||
   For the account of the boon see the *Mahābhārata*, III : 296. 38ff.
3. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 603 ; 3rd edition, p. 406.

Bhiṭaurā in the Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh.[1] The hoard contained 9 coins of Śrī Pratāpaśīla, 284 of Śrī Śīlāditya, 9 of Iśānavarman, 6 of Śarvavarman and 17 of Avantivarman. The last three rulers belong to the Maukhari dynasty of Kanauj. The coins bearing the name '*Pratāpaśīla*' have been attributed to king Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha. The majority of the coins bearing the name *Śrī Śīlāditya*[2] have been attributed to Harshavardhana.

Recently one gold coin of Harsha has been acquired from Farukhabad in Uttar Pradesh. This coin is the first gold coin of Harsha so far known. From the condition of the coin it appears that it was in circulation for a pretty long time. The obverse of the coin, bearing an inscription in five lines, indicates this fact. Some of the letters at the top, the left border and the bottom on the obverse are not very distinct due to rubbing.

The coin in size and fabric is similar to the gold coins of the Imperial Guptas. The silver coins of Harsha are also imitations of the Gupta silver coins, bearing a dancing peacock on one side and a long border legend on the other.

I describe below the new gold coin :

Metal-gold ; shape-round; diam. 2.00 cm.; wt. 113.50 grains

Obverse : Brāhmī legend in five lines :
Parama bhā
ṭṭāraka Mahārā
jādhirāja Parame
śvara Śrī Mahārā
(ja Ha) rshadeva.[3]

Reverse : Śiva and Pārvatī seated on Nandī. Śiva is shown four-handed and nimbate. He holds in the right upper hand a rosary. The lower right hand rests on his right thigh. The left upper hand holds a *triśūla* while the lower left is placed around the neck of his consort. Śiva wears *jaṭājūṭa* and round earrings. Over the rosary seems to be the figure of a snake on a staff. Pāravatī is seated gracefully on Śiva's

1. Discribed by R. Burn in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 843 ff. See also R. K. Mookerji, *Harsa*, (London, 1926), pp. 115-18, and D. Devahuti, 'The Coins of Harsha Śīlāditya-A Reappraisal' (*JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 40-46).
2. On one of the coins the name 'Śrī Harśa' has been read.
3. The reading of the part of the legend together with the name of the king Harsha is not clear on the photograph of the coin (published in plate) supplied by the author and hence it could not be checked.—*B. C. JAIN.*

left, with her left leg placed on her right thigh. She is looking at Śiva, having placed her right hand on his left thigh. Her left hand is held out. The goddess is nimbate and has a beautiful coiffure at the back of her head. She wears *lalāṭikā*, *ekāvalī* and *kuṇḍalas*. Below the Nandī is seated facing to right. **(Pl. X. 1).**

The characters of the Brāhmī legend on the coin leave no doubt as to its date. They are similar to the Brāhmī characters on the Madhuban and Bānskhera records of Harsha.

I attribute this gold coin to Harsha, the well known ruler of the Vardhana dynasty. The titles found on this coin before the name of Harshadeva are :

Paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, Parmeśvara Śrī Mahārāja. These titles may be compared with those assumed by him and known to us from his two records, referred to above, and his seals. Harsha is described in the seventh line of the Banskhera copper plate inscription[1] as *Paramāmāheśvaro maheśvara iva......paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja Śrī Harshaḥ*.

In the two fragmentary seals of Harsha discovered in the Nalanda excavations[2] we have the following inscription :

paramamāheśvaraḥ
maheśvaraiva sārvabhaumaḥ|paramabhaṭṭāraka
mahārājādhirāja Harshaḥ

The well known copper seal from Sonepat, besides bearing a similar legend, shows on it the figure of a seated bull.[3]

We have the name *Harshadeva* on this coin. Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harshacharia*[4] mentions his patron by this name. In the Nausāri grant and the Aphsad stone inscription also the name 'Harshadeva' occurs for this ruler.[5] The royal titles and the name 'Harshadeva' clearly indicate that the coin was issued by Harshavardhana, the ruler of *Uttarāpatha* during the first half of the 7th century A. D.

The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on Nandī on this coin are indeed significant. The ancestral religion of Harsha,

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 208-12.
2. *Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Annual Report*, 19¦7-18, p. 44.
3. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*. no 52, p. 231, pl. XXXII '8' ; of H. C. P. 203
वृषांकामभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्राम् ।
4. *Harshacharita*, p...... āṇa has also referred to the title-parmeśvara- of Harṣa. Cf. also '*Parameśvara Śrī Śilāditya devasya* on a Lucknow Museum inscription (no. E '12).
5. Fleet, Ibid, no. 42 ; *IA*, XIII, 73, 79.

according to Bāṇa, was Śaivism. We also learn from Bāṇa that before setting out for conquests, Harsha worshipped Nīlalohita Śiva.[1] The *Mangalācharaṇas* in the Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā, the two dramas ascribed to Harsha, are in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. According to Yuan-chwang, Harsha and Rajyaśrī became followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism in their later life. Even if Harsha had leanings towards Buddhism in his later life, he did not give up the worship of the Hindu deities such as Śiva and Sūrya. This is borne out by the testimony of the Chinese writer.

The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī on the new gold coin of Harsha are artistically portrayed. This is reminicient of the portraits of deities on the Gupta gold coins. The contemporary sculptures representing Śiva with Pārvatī, found in northern India, bear close resemblence to the iconographic forms of these deities on the present coin.

K. D. BAJPAI

14

COINS OF ALLAUDIN KHILJI.

[PL. XII]

Forty eight coins were given by Pt. Jagannath Sharma of Village Dhanwār, Distt. Hardoi, U. P., when the author had been there in the month of December, 1963. When enquired, Pt. Jagannath told, that he has inherited these coins, from his ancestral property. The metal of these round coins is copper; the average weight is 4.354 gms., and diameter–about 15. mm. These Coins were chemically treated by Shri R. C. Sharma, Archaeological-chemist of our deptt. The legends are in Persian script.

Obverse : Inside a circle ; السلطان
عظم स

Reverse : علاالد
نیاوالدین **(PL. XII. 11).**

B.M.S. PARMAR

15

KĀLINJAR—A NEW MINT OF AKBAR

On reading my article on the mint of Kālinjar, published earlier in this *Journal*[2] a veteran numismatist pointed out that the mint town was Kālpi and not Kālinjar.

1. *Harshacharita*, p. 226.
2. *JNSI*, XXVI, pt., II, p, 250.53

I thoroughly re-examined the Fulus (copper coin) along with its photograph. Happily the epithets of the mint which hither to could not be deciphered satisfactorily now helped me in deciding the matter finally. The epithet which runs as follows, contains a special significance about the region.

Obverse legend of the coin is as follows :—

حجک بھ[کتی]
[خ]طه اب
کا لنجر
فلوس
ضرب

The Persian letters خ of خطه (Khitta) and کتی of بھکتی donot appear on the surface of the coin, the die being larger.

The meaning of the epithet *Khitta-i-Ab* means situated on the lake or river and in case it is *Khitāb* it means the title of town as 'Jijak Bhukti', an ancient name for Kālinjar.

The town of Kālinjar is situated at 25° N, and 80° 29' E on a holy lake. The town itself is of great antiquity with references in ancient religious literature. Moreover, there are several lakes—natural as well as made by man's ingenuity, in the region of Bundelkhand. It is for this reason that part of the epithet i. e., *Khitta-i-Ab*, was employed on the coin for this region.[1]

In 1569 A. D. (29th Sagar. 977 A. H.) Raja Ramchandra of Bhath surrendered the fort of Kalinjar[2] to Majnu Khan[3] for Akbar who constituted it into the headquerters of a Sarkar.[4]

The fulus under referance was struck in 987 A. H.

U. S. RAO

1. *JNSI*, XXVI, 11, 250-53.
2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, IX, P. 70
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian Text, II.

کالنجر قلعه الیست برکوه - اسمان سا - سر آغاز اوکس باز نگوید - فراوان
بتخانه دارد - و آنجایتی است کال لبرون بدرازی تردة دست - شگرف داستانها برسر ایند -

Majnu Khan Qāqshāl was a Commander of five thousand horses according to *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*. He was a grandee of Humayun and held Narnaul as *Jagir*. On Akbar's accession he was made Jagirdar of Manikpur, then the eastern frontier of Akbar's empire. He was appointed as Commander of the fort of Kālinjar in 977 A. H.

4. Abdul Qadir Badayuni in his *Mintkhib-ut. Twārikh* Persion Text. Says :—

رامچند حاکم بهته عافیت اندیشی نموده - پیش از انکه کار بهمت و شفاعت آفتد -
کلید قلعه کالنجر راکه از دست بجلی خان پسر خوانده پهارخان مروالی بعبلغ کلی خریده
بود نفایس پیشکش بدرگاه فرستاده و حراست انر ایمجنون خان قا قشال که دران نواحی جاگیر
داشت دادند - و فرمان استمالت بروجه رامچند فرستاده پرگنه زایل راکه نزدیک بجهوسی
وپیاگ است عرف الاباس با سایر انکه جاگیری دادند - درسنه سبع و سعین و تسمایه -

5. Kālinjar is shown as a Sarkar with several Parganahs in the Suba (province) of Allahabad in the *Ain'*. Persion Text, II.

16

THE COUPLET OF THE S̲H̲ĀH K̲H̲URRAM LEGEND ON S̲H̲ĀH JAHĀN'S COIN

Shri C. R. Singhal described, in a recent issue of this journal (i. e. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXVI, Part I, pp. 61-62), an extremely rare rupee of S̲h̲āh Jahān in the name of S̲h̲āh K̲h̲urram. He also referred to three specimens of this variety which now adorn the collections of the foreign countries : one in the British Museum, London, the other in the American Numismatic Society, New York, and the third in the Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Of these, the last specimen represents an unique coin, being the only known Niṣār which bears a rhyming couplet as its legend. This coin was first noticed and described by that great numismatist R. B. Whitehead in his article entitled 'Some notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, (5th Series), Part II.

Singhal, while referring to this type, has quoted in his above article, the reading and translation of the poetical legend containing the name S̲h̲āh K̲h̲urram, as prepared by Witehead. While unfortunately, the said issue of the *Numismatic Chronicle* not being available to me here at Nagpur, I have not been able to look it up, in any case, there should be no doubt that Shri Singhal has copied it faithfully,

Now Whithead's reading and translation of the metrical legend are as follows :—

مهر کند سپهر زر از سرافرازی
نثار شاه جهان خرم غازی

"The sun (or impression) makes a sky of gold through the exaltation of the Niṣār of S̲h̲āh Jahān, S̲h̲āh K̲h̲urram G̲h̲āzī. '

According to Singhal, the above translation was unconvincing—and rightly so to a certain extent. Consequently he was inclined to make a suggestion for a better reading and translation. His improvement of the reading was confined to the change of the order of the hemistiches of the metrical legend, while he translated it as follows :—

"The Niṣār of S̲h̲āh Jahān S̲h̲āh K̲h̲urram G̲h̲āzī proudfully struck coins on the sky (i. e. Sun and Moon)."

But the above rendering is far more unconvincing, even puzzling, than that of Whitehead who, as a matter of fact, was correct as far as his understanding of the subject of the whole sentence, namely مهر—*mihr* meaning 'sun', was concerned. He

was on the right track, but was mislead on account of the incorrect reading of the hemistich on the reverse, which was, it must be stated forthwith, not due to any incorrect decipherment of the text, but only due to the wrong order of words of the correctly deciphered legend. No doubt, it is rather surprising that a scholar of Whitehead's erudition should have failed to notice the lack of proper order of words in the hemistich, as it does not properly conform to the metre (which may be scanned thus : مفاعلن فعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن), while the legend on the obverse perfectly does. In any case, since Singhal also did not spot this metrical defect, he preserved the same order, and was even more mislead than Whitehead to take the word مهر *mihr* as مُہر *muhr* and use it with کند to form the verb 'struck coins'—though even then the verb should be correctly translated in the present tense inseated of in the past. As it is, in verse, the reversal of the order of hemistiches is not necessary ; the meaning would be the same in any case.

I now quote below the correct rendering of the text as well as the translation of this metrical legend for the benefit of students interested in Mughal numismatics.[1]

The legend should be correctly read as under :—

زر سپہر کند مہراز سر ا فرازی
نثار شاہ جہان شاہ خرم غازی

It will be seen that the above order of the first hemistich makes it materically perfect. The prose-order of the legend would be :

مہرازسرافرازی زر سپہر (را) نثار شاہ جہان شاہ خرم غازی کند

And, it can, now, be translated as :

"The sun, out of exaltation, makes an offering of (i. e. the sun considers it an honour to make an offering of) the gold of the sky (rays of the sun) to S͟hāh Jahān, S͟hāh K͟hurram G͟hāzī."

The meaning conveyed in the legend is perfectly clear and needs no elucidation.

Z. A. DESAI

17

A COPPER COIN OF AHMAD SHAH I BAHMANI

[Pl. X]

A circular coin of Ahmad Shah Bahmani (Size ·65″; weight aproximately 75 grains) was obtained by me at Warangal. The usual legend on the obverse of the coins of Ahmad Shah is *Al-manṣūr bi'naṣr-ullāh al-mannān* (**Pl. X. 2**). But on the

1. As a matter of fact, the readings of at least a few poetical legends on the Muslim coins require revision. I propose to take it up separately.

present coin, the legend is a little different. It ends with the word *as-sannā* instead of *al-mannān* followed by two peculiar marks, which may be mint marks.

The Arabic word *Sannā* means 'light'; and in all probability it stands for 'one who shows right path.'

The reverse has the usual legend *Abul-mughāsī Ahmad Shah As-sultān* with the mint and date. The mint name may be Ahsānābad.[1] Only 8 of the date is seen on the coin.

The coin might have been issued immediately after the accession.

M. AMJAD ALI

18

A RARE GOLD COIN OF MANIPUR

[Pl. X]

So far as I am aware, no gold coin of the rulers of Manipur (Assam) is on record; though such coins are referred in a treaty that was concluded between Jai Singh, the ruler of Manipur belonging to the dynasty founded by Garib Niwas in the eighteenth century, and the East India Company. Recently, I found a coin of this dynasty in the collection of Shri Mohit Kanti Bose of Calcutta. It was originally with a poor family of Bengal and was kept with religious sentiments. This coin may be described as follows:

Square; gold (93.2%—specific gravity 10.01); size 20 mm. x 20 mm.; weight 11.3895 grammes (about 175 grains).

Legend in Bengali script of Assam variety.

Obverse	Reverse
Śrī Rādhā	*Śrī Gambhīra*
Govinda	*singha nṛipa va*
charaṇa se	*rasya chandrā-*
vakasya	*bdāḥ 1043.*

(Pl. X, 3)

Gambhira Singh, was the son of Jai Singh and was perhaps the ablest ruler of the dynasty. Garib Niwas, the founder of the dynasty was the follower of the Rāmānandī cult of Vaishṇavism; but from the time of Jai Singh, Gauḍīya Vaishṇavism was patronised by the state. Jai Singh built a

1. The reading is very doubtful. *P. L. G.*

temple of Govinda in his palace, to which reference is made in the legend.

While there could be no doubt about the genuineness of the coin, the date given on the reverse in the exergue as *Chandrābda 1043* creates some difficulty in properly attributing the coin to Gambhira Singh. The word *Chandrābda* meaning the Lunar year, brings to our mind the Hijri era, well known in this country from the time of the Muslim rule in India. But then this date 1043 brings us only to (1043 + 622) 1665 A. D., while Gambhir Singh is known to have flourished in the first half of the ninteenth century. Due to constant Burmese invasions of Manipur, there may also be a chance of its correspondence with the Burmese Luni-Solar era. But, in that case also the date does not go beyond 1681 (1043 + 638). We are not in a position to explain this date at the present state of our knowledge, but we will be glad if some scholar does it.

S. P. BASU

19

AN IMPORTANT SEAL OF THE MARATHAS

[Pl. X]

I had the good fortune to buy from a Kabāḍī a rare seal of the Marāṭhās. The Kabāḍī acquired the seal from Baroda where he bought it with a lot of junk.

Before commenting on the Seal I am describing it below.

Shape—Regular symetrical Cardioid rounded at the bottom.[1]

Size—2½″ x2″.

Metal - Brass.

Weight—56 grms.

Inscription—In Devanāgarī script as follows :

१. ॥ श्री ॥

२. राजाशाहुछत्र

३. पतीहर्षनीधान

४. बाजीरावरघु

५. नाथप्रधान

standing for

॥ श्री ॥ राजा शाहु छत्रपति हर्षं नीधान

बाजीराव रघुनाथ प्रधान

1. The description of the seal should be one loop of the mathematical shape called 'Lemniscate of Bernoulli' named after the famous Swiss mathematician, of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Jacob Bernoulli.

Further description—The Seal has been cut in a flat piece of brass. On the back of it, it has been welded at four places, which are joined to form a loop. Therefore it must have been carried in a chain.

(Pl. X. 4)

The Rājā Śāhu Chhatrapati seems to be Śāhu II, the Chhatrapati of Satārā. After the death of Śāhu I, in 1749 A. D., the Chhatrapati of Satārā became a non-entity in Marāthā politics and was gradually reduced to the position of a prisoner in the hands of the Peshwas. The only function that was left to the Chhatrapati was to bestow the official robes of the Peshwaship whenever a new Peshwa succeeded. In 1777 A. D. Śāhu II became the Chhatrapati and continued in that office till his death on May 4, 1808. During his tenure as Chhatrapati he had a struggle for power with Bajirao s/o Raghunathrao.

The character and role of Bajirao in the Marāthā history is a curious one and Sirdesai rightly calls him an "evil genius". On December 6, 1796 Bajirao became the Peshwa. Then followed a struggle for power with Nana Phadnis whom he successfully ousted. There was a bit of struggle with Śāhu II, but Śāhu was not successful and Bajirao with the help of Paraśuram Bhau defeated Chhatrasingh, brother of Śāhu II on 4th August 1798 and completely foiled the attempt of Śāhu Chhatrapati. The career of Bajirao has been a very eventful one. He ultimately lost power and died at Bithoor on 28th January, 1851.

So much for the personalities mentioned in the Seal. According to me four important questions arise on closely examining the seal.

Firstly, when was the Seal bestowed to Bajirao ? It was certainly not given to him after he became a Peshwa. Or is it that the word *Pradhan* indicates Peshwaship ? Since the Peshwas always claimed their powers from the Chhatrapatis, the second meaning can be taken as correct. If this be accepted then the date of the seal would be around 1796 A. D. My conjecture is that it was given prior to Bajirao's acquiring the Peshwaship. This is a point for the scholars to consider and decide.

Secondly, the word *Pradhan* is intriguing. As I have stated above does it mean the office of Peshwaship or does it connote some other office.

Thirdly, there is another phrase that cannot be fully explained. The adjective used for the Chhatrapati is *Harsha Nidhān*, meaning "Full of joy". This is an unusual adjective given to a King. As the Seal is in the form of a crude couplet, if the phrase was used to make the couplet complete, the proper phrase should have been *Guṇa Nidhān*.

Fourthly, the couplet is rather crude and why a couplet was at all used is also a question which should be thought about.

I wish to leave these problems for the scholars of Marāthā history, who may be able to throw some light on this curious and intriguing Seal. I have only to add that it is all the more interesting as it brings together two rival figures of Marāthā history.

R. K. SETHI

TECHNICAL SECTION

CLEANING OF COPPER COINS

[Pl. XIII]

Copper coins are found in greatest abundance during archaeological excavations or other wise. These are often corroded and disfigured. Before these can be seriously studied by the numismatists or displayed in a museum some treatment is always necessary, so as to remove the deleterious accretions, bring out the hidden inscription and pattern and forestall any possibility of further deterioration.

Copper coins either when buried in soil or lying in open are apt to corrode due to the presence of corrosive agents in the soil, air and natural water. Most important of these are dissolved oxygen, carbonic acid, sulpher dioxide, hydrogen sulphide, soluble chlorides etc. These corrosive agents attack the metallic surface of the coins and a thin layer of patina is formed over the surface of the coin, which continues to grow with the passage of time.

The composition of the patina differs from coin to coin depending upon the chemical environment in which the coin was exposed. The following are the important minerals which are commonly met with in the copper patina. The first three minerals are of cupric copper and the last two of cuprous copper.

1. Malachite–$CuCO_3$ $Cu(OH)_2$, it is a basic copper carbonate and is green in colour. It is present in the upper layer of the patina.

2. Azurite—$2CuCO_3$. $Cu(OH)_2$ it is also a basic copper carbonate and is blue in colour. It is present in the upper surface of the patina.

3. Atacamite—$CuCl_2$. $Cu(OH)_2$, it is a basic copper chloride, and is of bright green colour. It is present in the upper layer of the patina.

4. Nantokite—CuCl. cuprous chloride, grey, white or colourless. It is concentrated in deeper layers.

5. Cuprite—CuO. cuprous oxide—ruby red in colour and surrounds the metal core.

Treatment of copper coins

For the purpose of chemical treatment the copper coins may be divided into following categories.

1. The coin is corroded only superficially and has a sound metallic core and its patina can be sacrificed.

2. The coin has corroded extensively and has either no metallic core or a very thin and brittle metallic core. The patina (which often has an aesthetic appeal to the antiquarians on account of its beautiful green and red patination) of these coins can not be sacrificed.

3. The coins are covered with hard and tenacious accretion of lime or clay.

Methods of treatment

I. The coins of the first catagory are treated by either of the two methods

Method No. I

The coins are immersed in a bath which contains the following solution in a porcelain or glass ware.

Tartaric Acid	—	10 gm.
Caustic Soda	—	10 gm.
Water	—	100 cc.

The coin may be kept in this solution till the green patina has been loosened and this is brushed away with the help of nylon hair brushes.

Sometimes the solution may be heated to hasten the action. After treatment in this bath, the coin is cleaned of its green patination but the red coloured cuprite and grey white nantokite are still uneffected. Since the latter is capable of restarting the corrosion these must be removed by immersing it in the following bath.

Sulphuric Acid (concentrated)	—	10 cc.
Water	—	100 cc.

(Note : Since this is an exothermic process, the acid should be added to water and in no case the water to acid).

The coins are immersed in this solution for a short time, till all the patina is stripped away, exposing clear metallic surface. After all the patina has been removed, the coins are washed, dried and preserved (details of these are described in separate paragraphs).

Method No. 2

In the Ist method the coins have to be treated in two different baths, which makes the method a little complicated.

In the 2nd method the coins are immersed in a single bath containing the following solution :—

Tartaric acid	—	10 gm.
Caustic Soda	—	10 gm.
Hydrogen proxide (20 volumes)	—	10 cc.
Water	—	100 cc.

This bath on account of its oxidizing nature dissolves in a single step both the cuprous as well as cupric patina. This method is often preferred in delicate work. The coins are immersed in the bath for short period and are taken out at short intervals and brushed, till free from all the accretions. It may be warned that coins are not to be kept in the bath even for a single minute after the patina has been removed, otherwise the metal may be attacked. Then the coin is washed, dried and preserved. Coins with sound metallic core are also treated by electrolytic or electrochemical reduction.

II. Treatment of copper coins extensively patinated with delicate metallic core or completely mineralized, where the patina cannot be sacrificed

The patina is thick, which may be porus or hard and may have sore spots, which lodge deleterious cuprous chloride capable of starting corrosion afresh. Such coins may be treated oy either of the following methods.

Method No. I

The coins are immersed in a bath containing the following solution.

1.	Sodium sesquicarbonate	—	5 gm.
2.	Water distilled	—	100 gm.

The coins are to be kept in this solution for a number of days and the bath is changed periodically, till it is found to be free from chloride ions.

One cc. bath solution is tested with silver nitrate solution if there is no turbidity, it ensures that all the chloride ions have been removed.

The coin is finally washed with distilled water dried and preserved with 5 percent vinyl acetate.

The above method is very time consuming and all the chloride ions may not be removed successfully.

Method No. 2

In this method the sore spots over the patina which are found in the presence of moisture and oxygen by conversion of cuprous chloride to bright green basic cupric chloride. These sore spots can be spotted by the help of magnifying glass and the diseased area is excavated with the help of a needle, the cavity thus formed is treated with powdered silver oxide (Analar quality), which is applied with the help of a wooden splinter. In this way the exposed area is covered by horn silver. The brown colour of silver oxide blends well in the colour scheme of the patina. After this treatment the object is well dried in air oven and preserved with 5% vinyl acetate.

Treatment of copper coins covered with lime or clay.

Mineral acids can not be used to remove the lime or clay, because even the dilute acids slightly attack the metal and the inscription might be slightly rounded.

Copper coins such affected are best treated by immersing them in a bath containing the following solution.

Calgon (Sodium Hexametaphosphate) $(Na\ PO_3)_6$—1 gm.

Water—10 c.c.

This bath removes the deposits of lime and clay without least effecting the metal. Brushing helps to remove the deposit.

If there is patina under the lime deposit, it is better to transfer the coin to a suitable bath mentioned above.

Washing, Drying and Preservation.

Coins treated by any of the wet methods are first washed in running water and then in several changes of distilled water till the wash liquid is free from chloride ions (there should be no turbidity when a few drops of silver nitrate solution are added to 1 c.c. of wash liquid). The wash liquid should also be neutral and for ordinary purposes may be tested with litmus papers (blue and red) which should not change colour.

The coins after thorough washing are dried in an air oven for an hour or so. The oven is maintained at 105°C.

After drying the coins may be lacquered with 1% to 5% Polyvinyl acetate solution, dried in air. Coins thus treated are supposed to remain in good condition for a long period.

The results of chemical treatment are shown in the accompanying **Plate XIII**. Coin **Nos. 1-9** are before treatment and **10-18** after chemical treatment.

H. C. BHARADWAJ.

NOTES & NEWS

1

Communications

I

A Hoard of 757 Kushana Copper Coins from Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh

A big hoard containing 757 copper coins of Kushana rulers has recently been discovered in the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh. The coins were sent to me by the Collector of that district for examination. I am enclosing herewith the report of my preliminary examination of the hoard for information.

1. Coins of Vima Kadphises		44
2. Coins of Kanishka		325
Nana	22	
Oesho	45	
Oado	65	
Mihira	21	
Mao	35	
Athsho	111	
Not clear	26	
	325	
3. Coins of Huvishka		358
(i) Elephant rider type		
Mao	34	
Mihira	12	
Oesho	13	
Nana	7	
Athsho	107	
Not clear	10	
	183	
(ii) Reclining on Couch		
Mao	32	
Mihira	5	
Oesho	11	
Athso	33	
Oado	2	
Not Clear	17	
	100	

(iii) *Seated Cross-legged*

Mao	33
Sungod	7
Oesho	7
Nana	3
Athso	24
Oado	1
	75

4. Unidentified, in very bad state of preservation 30

Total 757

B. C. Jain

2

June 29, 1965.

Dear Sir,

I read with interest the article of Shri Adris Benarjee in the XXVI Vol. of the *journal* on pages 235 to 240 regarding a coin of Kumarapala. In this respect I want to bring to your attention that the reading done by Shri Banarjee is not supported by the picture of the coin on plate VIII of the *journal.* Shri Banarjee reads the legend on the reverse as follows.

1st line *Shrimad. d* being not absolutely clear, 2nd line *Kumarpala,* 3rd line *Dev. d* again being not clear.

My objection to this reading is that the word म should have had a distinct Akār matra as it is clear in the word प hence my submission is that the legend on the coin cannot be interpreted as Shri Banerjee interprets it.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Rajendra Kumar Sethi.
Indore (M. P.)

3

Indian Coins Minted During the Reign of King Edward VII.

According to the records King Edward VII succeeded his mother, Queen Victoria on 22nd January, 1901. He died on 6th May, 1910. I append below a list of coins in my possession, showing the dates when these were minted. The list may not be quite complete and it is hoped that some other numismatist will supplement the information hereunder supplied so that we may eventually have a complete picture of this coinage :

Silver

1. One Rupee, India : 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1909.
2. Half Rupee, ,, : None.
3. One-quarter Rupee, India : 1904 and 1910.
4. Two Annas India : 1903, 1904, 1905 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1910.

Copper Nickel

5. One Anna, India : 1907, 1908 and 1910.

Copper

6. One Quarter Anna, India : 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909 and 1910.

D. M. PATHAK,
623/33 Sadashiva Peth,
Deshmukh Wadi, Poona—2.

2

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II (1964)

A Double Mohar of Śiva Siṁha Malla of Kathmandu.

page	line	Errata	Corrige
278	28	Above *Śri* in	Above *Śri Sri* in
279	2	Weight 16.50 gms	Weight 10.50 gms
279	One but last	than 11 grains	than 11 mashas

Plate : printed upside-down.

Ç. VELDETTARO

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d. Silver, Mughal coins of diff. kings like Akbar Jehangir, Jehangir-Nurjehan, Shahjehan, Aurangzeb, Shah Alam, Farrukhsiyar, Jahandar Shah, Mohammad Shah etc. can be supplied @ Rs. 7/- to Rs. 50/- per coin i.e. according to the condition, *date, mint and variety.*

e. Also available silver coins of British regions 1/8th, 1/4th, ½ and rupees of William IIII, Victoria Queen, Victoria Empress, *Victoria Queen,* Edward, G. V., G. VI. etc. prices are @ Rs. 1/- to Rs. 5/- each.

f. Silver coins of Indian States can also be supplied like Alwar, *Bikaner, Bundi,* Indore, Udaipur (Dosti Londhan) and other copper coins @ Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- per coin.

g. Also available 1964 KENNEDY *Memorial* coins @ Rs. 12/- All coins are in good condition and are Gauranteed Genuine. Also available are some Gold Gupta, Kushan, Mughal *and other coins* which can be supplied to Govt. museums and other bonafide collectors only.

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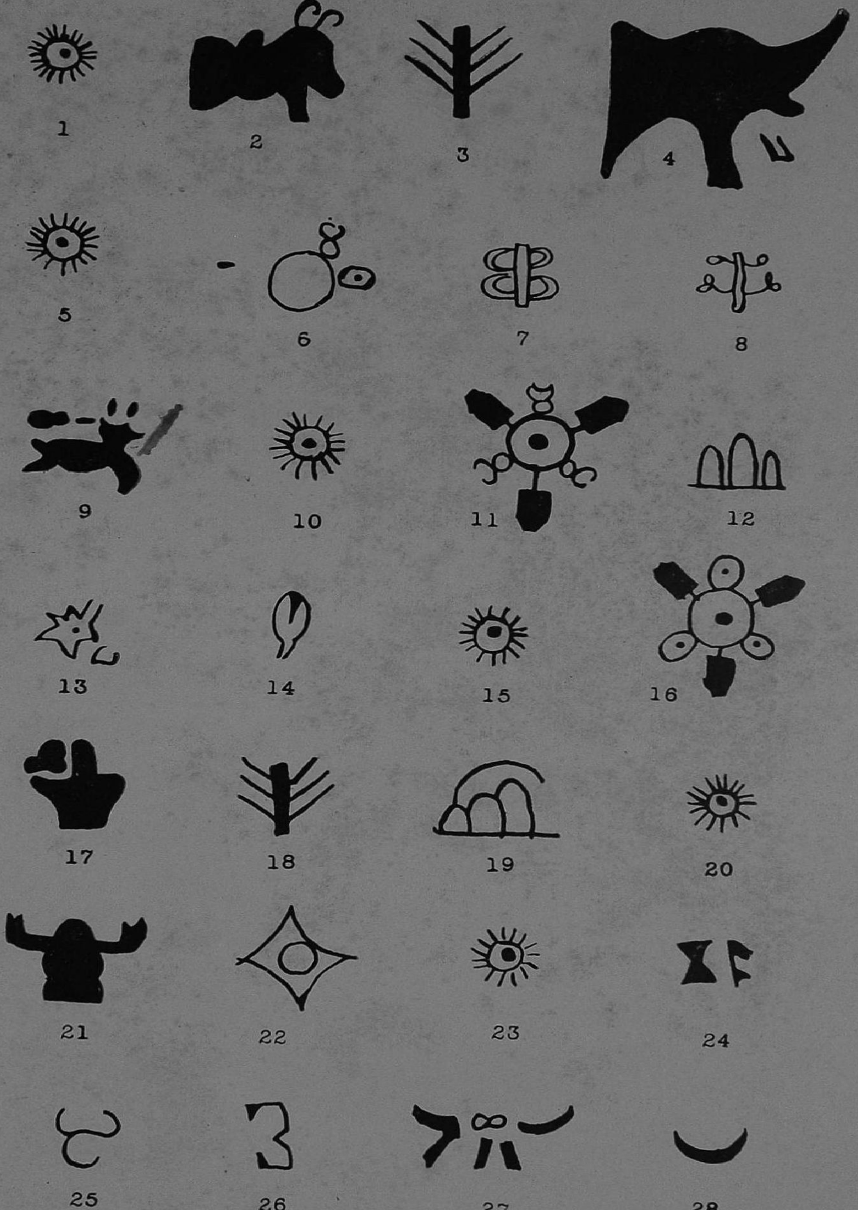
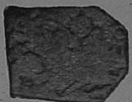
Seals in the Allahabad Museum (1-10) ; A Coin of Alauddin Khilji (11).



Symbols on Punch-marked Coins.

1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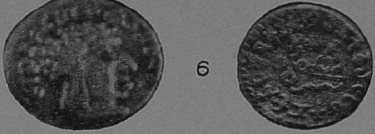
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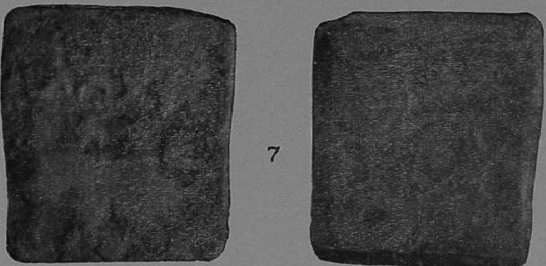
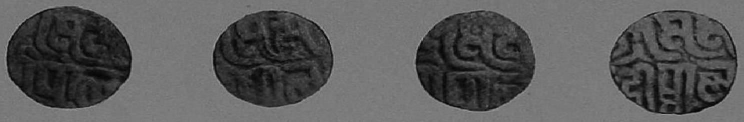
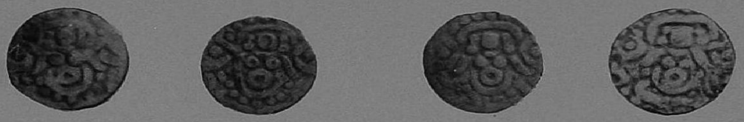

7

8

Punch-marked Coins (1-5); Silver Coin of Vaśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (6); Coin of Sātavāhana King Meghavasti (7); Jar in which were found the Dariyapura (Jhansi), Rajput Coins (8); by Courtesy Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.



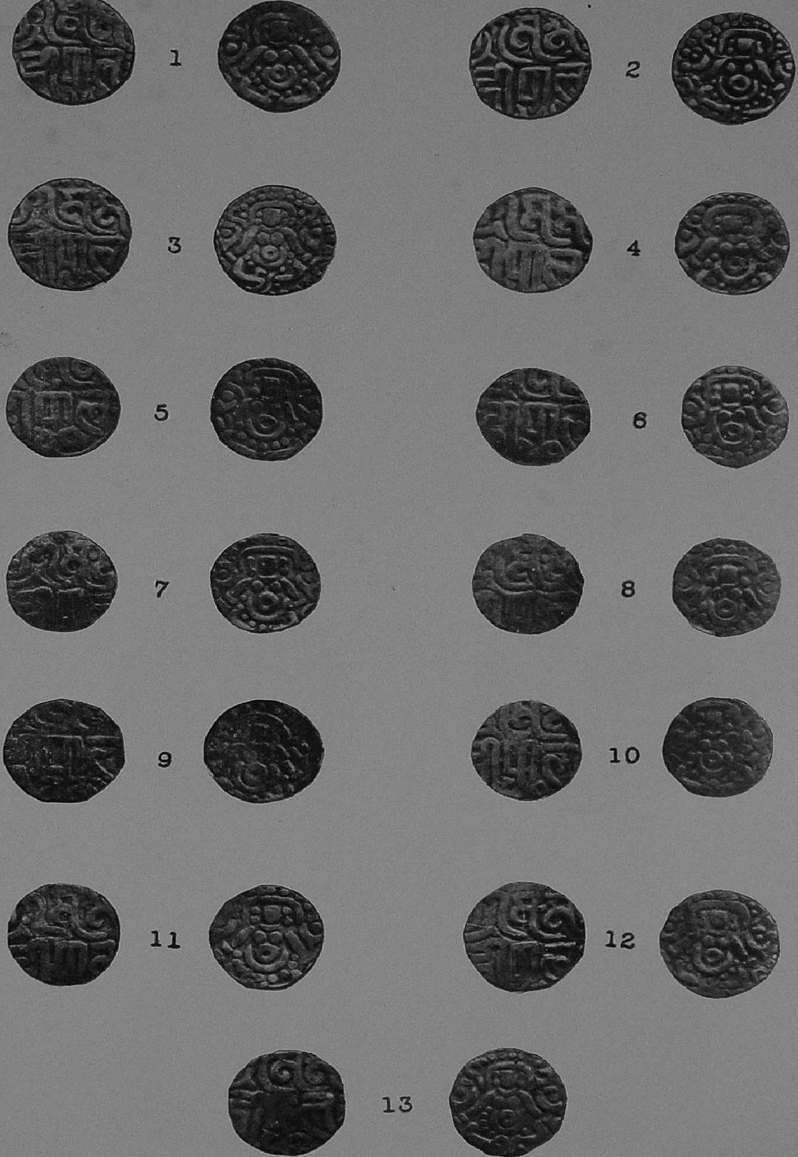
1 2 3 4



5 6 7 8

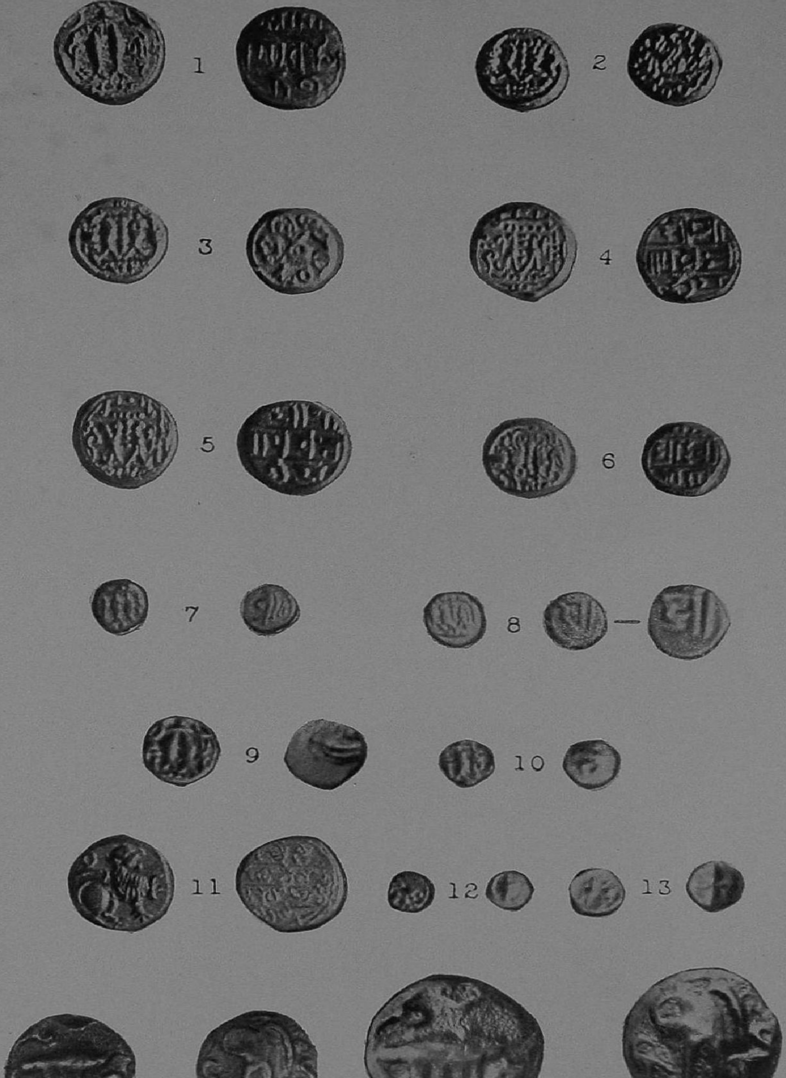
9 10 11

Coins of King Mahipāladeva (by Courtesy, A.S.I., Northern Circle, Agra).



Coins of King Mahipāladeva (by Courtesy, A.S.I., Northern Circle, Agra).

Coins of King Madanavarman (by Courtesy A.S.I., Northern Circle, Agra).



Ālupa Coins (1-10) ; Coins of King Jagadekamalla (11-13) ; Gold Coin of Vikramaditya I of Badami (14A & 14B).

1-A

1-B

Coin of Mahakshatrapa Bhartṛidaman
(1A ; 1B Enlarged).

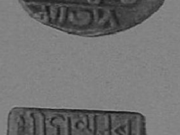
1-A

1-B

Coin of Mahākshatrapa Viśvasena
(1A ; 1B Enlarged).

1

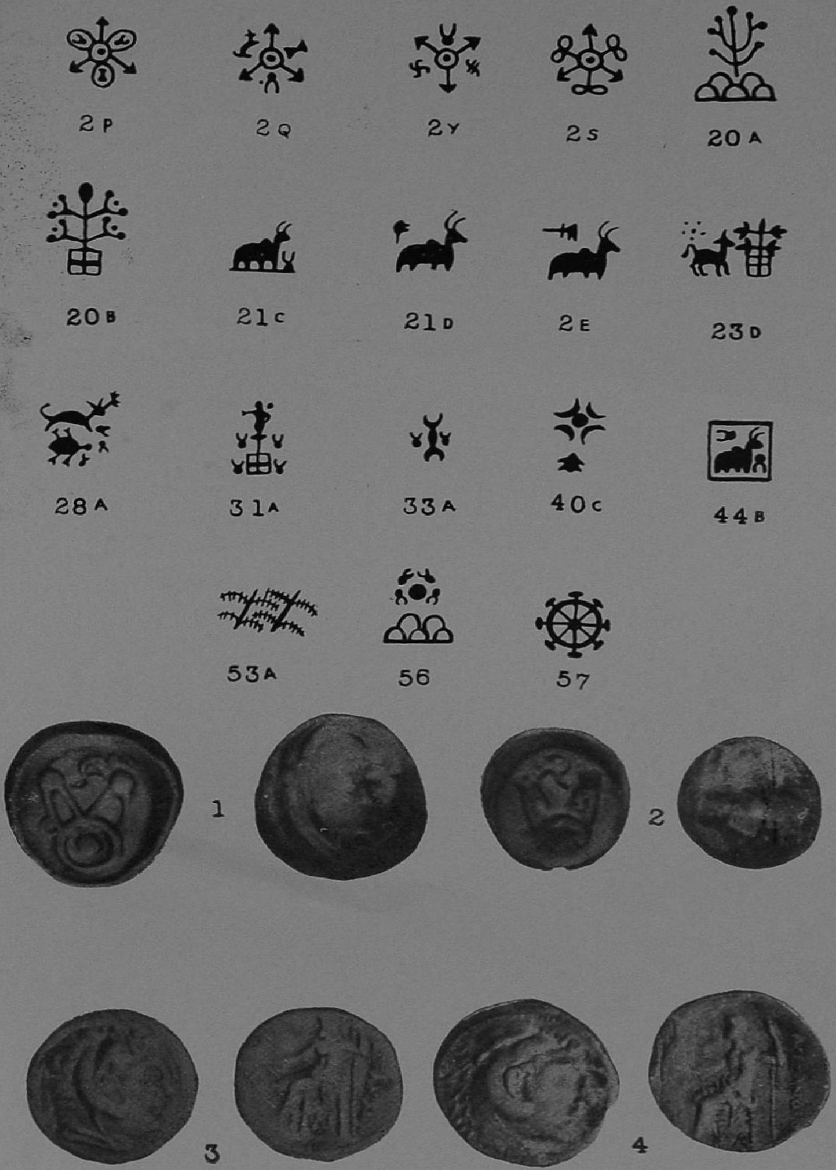
2



3

4

Gold Coin of Harsha (1) ; Coin of Ahmad Shah I Bahmani (2) i Coin of King Gambhir Singh of Manipur (3) ; An important seal of the Marathas (4).



Syn bols on Punch-marked Coins (2P-57) ; Punch-marked Coins (1-2) ; Coins of Alexander, the Great (3-4).